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MOTHER JULIAN OF NORWICH AND ROBERT BROWNING

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Comparisons are not odious but very interesting and illuminating. Our knowledge grows by putting two and two together and we describe a thing by saying it is like something else. We are fond of tracing the history and connection of ideas and doctrines. It is a science in itself, Comparative Literature, Comparative Religion. This is because resemblances throw light on each other's meaning. Sometimes an unexpected similarity flashes a light which one more obvious would miss. Prof. Henry Jones has written a book on Browning wherein much space is taken up in comparing Browning with Carlyle. Another book shows the different attitude toward religion and toward life shown by Browning and Tennyson. But these are natural, almost inevitable comparisons. Any serious study would seem to require their consideration.

On the other hand, the present subject is one of those unsuspected resemblances, which is the more striking because on the surface no two people who ever lived look less like each other than the late Robert Browning of London and Asolando, and the early fourteenth century Mother Julian, of Norwich, England. The differences are not only evident, but even amusing. It is for this reason and because the comparison throws light upon the

teaching and character of each, and because both parties are worthy of our continued study, that I have thought the comparison interesting.

Both were English, but one was a man, of virile, active temperament, in the best sense "a man of the world," fond of society, mixing with all that was best in the social and intellectual life of his day; a traveller in varied climes; a scholar versed in languages and philosophies; a devoted husband and father; one who in his rich experience of life had plumbed its heights and depths and knew its joys and sorrows to the full.

The other was a woman, born about 500 years before him, who had never been beyond the bounds of her native country, trained in the little Convent of Carrow in Norfolk by the Benedictine nuns and probably herself made a member of the order there. As a very young woman she became an "ankeresse," that is, for all the rest of her long life she was immured in a stone chamber, the foundations of which may still be seen, attached to the little church of St. Julian, in Norwich. She was born in 1342 and was in this cell and "yet in life" as an old manuscript says in 1413.

It is far from my intention to tell the story of the lives of these two dissimilar people. Browning's was so rich and full that it would take a volume to give only its outlines, while Julian's is so meagre that we know hardly more than has here been told. Were I to speak of their lives no resemblance could be found to justify my bringing them together.

The interesting thing about Mother Julian and Browning is the similarity of their *thought*, which is all the more striking because one was a keen student of man and of philosophy, and the other calls herself "a simple creature that coude no letter" (who was unskilled in letters). One drew upon the knowledge of all the ages, the other was but slightly touched by the doctrinal teaching of some pious nuns and driven back into herself to seek there, in prayer, some light on the problems which perpetually perplex humanity. One wrote voluminously and saw and discussed these problems from every conceivable angle, while the other has left us

only one short volume, the result of her meditations, unaided by science, or art, or history.

This little book of hers, which Dean Inge says is "one of the most precious gems of medieval sacred literature," is only gradually becoming known, and so perhaps a word on its origin and character may not be superfluous.

It is the source of all we know of her personality and thought. It grew out of her meditations on a series of visions, trying to find God's meaning in those "shewings." In her early years she had asked three "gifts" of God. The first was that she might have a keen realization of Christ's Passion, especially that she might be vouchsafed a bodily sight of Christ's pains; the second was that, when she came to be thirty years old, she might have a bodily sickness (which was much more esteemed in the Middle Ages as a means of grace than it is today); and the third was, that she might have of God's gift three "wounds," as she calls them, "that is to say, the wound of very (true) contrition, the wound of kind (natural) compassion, and the wound of wilful (of steadfast, purposeful) longing toward God." All her prayers were answered. She had her desperate illness and naturally in it, as the effect of it, came the sixteen visions which she calls her Revelations. They were really only the pegs on which her later reflections were hung. The *true* revelations came as the result of long thought and questioning, like St Peter's on his vision of the sheet. Her account of her illness, although written fifteen years after it, is very precise, transparently truthful, and is a most interesting psychological document.

She is as keen in her self-analysis as was Santa Teresa. Toward the close of her book she says,

"All the blessed teaching of our Lord was shewed by three parts: that is to say, by bodily sight, and by words formed in my understanding, and by spiritual sight. For the bodily sight I have said as I saw, as truly as I can; and for the words, I have said them right as our Lord shewed them to me; and for the spiritual sight, I have told some deal, but I may never fully tell it: and therefore of this sight I am stirred to say more, as God will give me grace."¹

¹ P. 178. And note p. 18. [The references are to Miss Grace Warrack's edition, Methuen & Co., London.]

It is not my purpose to discuss the book as a whole, nor to touch on all its teachings. Our purpose is that of comparison with Browning, and we have only to adduce the leading ideas of both and so to make clear what was meant by saying that while no persons could be more different than these two, yet that in her little sanctuary Mother Julian had thoughts of God and man and life which strikingly resemble what we call Browning's "philosophy."

It is almost as certain that Browning had never seen her little book, as that she had never belonged to a Browning Society. The resemblance in thought, then, is purely accidental. But it is astonishingly complete. Even should my interest in both people not be shared by others, I am sure that the teaching they had in common is of vital concern today, both necessary and refreshing.

We can consider only a few points and those the most striking. Yet the more one reads in both, the more points of resemblance appear.

In the first place they were both Mystics. The Longing for God, which forms the groundwork of Mysticism, is common to both.

It begins with Browning as far back as his first poem, for in Pauline, he says:

"I have always had one lode-star; now
As I look back I see that I have halted
Or hastened as I looked toward that star—
A need, a trust, a yearning after God."

And then again, in that same youthful poem he cries:

"What is it that I hunger for but God?
My God, my God, let me for once look on thee,
As though naught else existed, we alone!
And as creation crumbles, my soul's spark
Expands, 'til I can say, even from myself,
I need thee and I feel thee and I love thee."

That is the way all Mystics begin. And later, in his middle age, he writes in "Christmas Day":

"No, love, what on earth, amid all the shows of it,
Has ever been seen, the sole good of life in it,
The love ever growing there, spite of the strife in it,
Shall arise, made perfect, from death's repose of it.
And I shall behold thee, face to face,
O God, and in thy light retrace
How in all I loved here, still wast thou."

And Mother Julian owes her Revelations, as I have said, to the intense desire she expressed for a wilful, earnest "longing toward God."

And so in the very first shewing, she says:

"This is the natural yearning of the soul, by the teaching of the Holy Ghost (as by the understanding that I have in this Shewing): God, of Thy Goodness, give me Thyself: for thou art enough to me, and I may nothing ask that is less than may be full worship to Thee; and if I ask anything that is less, ever me wanteth,—but only in Three I have all."²

And then we come to these great words, often quoted, which express so wonderfully the sense of need and of possession at the same time:

"For I saw him and sought him: for we be now so blind and so unwise that we can never seek God till what time that He of His goodness sheweth Him to us. And when we see aught of Him graciously, then are we stirred with the same grace to seek with great desire to see Him more blessedfully. And there I saw Him, and sought Him, and I had Him and wanted Him: and this is and should be our common working in this life, as to my sight."³

This is so common a feeling among Mystics in all ages that perhaps it is not unusual to find it bridging the centuries in this way.

It is in this common search for God, however, that our two writers are brought closer together by their common devotion to Christ. Both are Christians and would have recognized each other as such. But the centrality of Christ is so prominent in both, that it constitutes one of the fundamental resemblances.

I need quote but these two passages from Browning; the passion for Christ runs through all he wrote:

² P. II.

³ Ed. Tyrrell, p. 27.

"The acknowledgment of God in Christ
Accepted by thy reason, solves for thee
All questions on the earth and out of it;
And has so far advanced thee to be wise."⁴

"He who did most shall bear most; the strongest shall stand the most weak.
'Tis the weakness in strength that I cry for! my flesh that I seek
In the Godhead! I seek and I find it. O Saul, it shall be
A Face like my face that receives thee: a Man like to me,
Thou shalt love and be loved by, forever! a Hand like this hand
Shall throw open the gates of new life to thee! See the Christ stand!"⁵

While Mother Julian says:

"And this hath ever been a comfort to me, that I chose Jesus to my heaven
by His grace, in all this time of passion and sorrow and that hath been a
learning to me that I should ever more do so; choose only Jesus to my heaven
in weal and woe."⁶

A not very important but I think interesting resemblance in
thought is a striking pre-reminiscence, so to speak, of Browning's
theory of soul and body helping each other mutually. They are
in the familiar lines from Rabbi Ben Ezra:

"Let us not always say
'Spite of this flesh today
I strove, made head, gained ground upon the whole.'
As the bird wings and sings
Let us cry, 'All good things
Are ours, nor soul helps flesh more now, than flesh helps soul.'"

This is the way Mother Julian put the same idea five hundred
years earlier.

"And all the gifts that God may give to creatures, He hath given to His Son
Jesus for us: which gifts, He, dwelling in us, hath enclosed in Him unto the
time that we be waxed and grown,—our soul with our body, and our body with
our soul, either of them taking help of other—till we be brought up unto
stature as nature worketh."⁷

Not to spend time upon these minor resemblances, I come to
four of real importance chosen from others which might be

⁴ A Death in the Desert.

⁵ Saul.

⁶ Warrack ed., p. 42.

⁷ P. 133.

selected. We find Mother Julian at one with Browning's ideas on these subjects: the subordination of reason, the mystery of sin, the optimism which persists in spite of sin, and love as the basic principle of life.

In their treatment of man's rationalizing faculty they are both at one, though, of course, the modern is much fuller in his depreciation and deeper in his philosophy of that in which true knowledge consists, than the medievalist. Only by general trend can we see how Julian depends more upon love and intuition, than upon the scholastic logic which was so prominent in her day.

She says toward the end of her book, after having laid aside many problems as too hard for her intellect:

"And at the end of woe, suddenly our eyes shall be opened and in clearness of light, our sight shall be full; which light is God, our Maker and Holy Ghost in Christ Jesus, our Saviour. Thus I saw and understood that our faith is our light in our night, which light is God, our endless Day."⁸

We all know Browning's treatment of the intellect, poetically in his early poems, dryly and philosophically in his later. One hardly needs to labor the fact.

As early as Paracelsus, written when most young men exalt their reason and love to argue, he makes the proud intellect bow to the higher love. To be sure he admits later on the parity and necessity of both, as when Paracelsus confesses to Aprile,

"I too have sought to know as thou to love
Excluding love as thou refusedst Knowledge.
. . . . We must never part
Till thou, the lover, know; and I, the Knower
Love—until both are saved."⁹

But later in life, he is less willing to admit the claims of the logical faculty. To do so would interfere with his theory of life, as choice and struggle. He thinks of mind as static, while life is a flux.

⁸ P. 200.

⁹ Paracelsus.

"To know of, think about,—
Is all man's sum of faculty effects
When exercised on earth's least atom, Son!
What was, what is, what may such atom be?
No answer."¹⁰

and again more bluntly:

"Wholly distrust thy knowledge then, and trust
As wholly love allied to ignorance!
There lies thy truth and safety."¹¹

and later in the same poem

"Consider well!
Were knowledge all thy faculty, then God
Must be ignored; love gains him by first leap."¹²

Whether we agree with this or not, it is a position taken by both our people, and I am justified in using it for the purpose of comparison. And it must be said that they occupy it in a good cause. They both think it necessary in order to safeguard man's moral nature. It is the choice, the adventure, the growth that interest them both, and as Prof. Jones says of Browning, "In this ingenious manner, the poet turns the imperfect intellect and delusive knowledge of man to a moral use."¹³

Coming now to consider their treatment of sin and the problem of evil, Mother Julian faces the problem exactly as Browning does, and reaches the same conclusion, ending with the same triumphant optimism.

Just as Browning "stakes everything on the non-existence of abstract evil,"¹⁴ so does Mother Julian. And yet she blinks no sight of sin. Sin, to her, is "the sharpest scourge"; "viler and more painful than hell, without comparison"; "an horrible thing to see for the loved soul that would be all fair and shining in the sight of God." "All this is *in* man's experience, with many other pains,—pains which in individual lives have no proportionate

¹⁰ A Bean Stripe.

¹¹ A Pillar in Sebzevar.

¹² A Pillar in Sebzevar.

¹³ Jones, *Browning*, etc., p. 231.

¹⁴ Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, p. 314.

relation to sin, though in general 'Sin is Cause of pain' (she says), and 'pain purgeth' ("For I tell thee, howsoever thou do, thou shalt have woe"). But the comfort revealed shows how sin which 'hath no part of being,' and 'could not be known but by the pain it is cause of,' leaves, notwithstanding all its horror, an opening for a fuller influx of Divine love and strength."¹⁵

I will give some quotations to show her views:

"After this the Lord brought to my mind the longing that I had to Him afore. And I saw that nothing letted me but sin. And so I looked generally upon us all and methought: If sin had not been, we should all have been clean and like to our Lord, as He made us.

"And thus in my folly afore this time often I wondered why by the great foreseeing wisdom of God the beginning of sin was not letted: for then, methought, all should have been well.

"But Jesus, who in this Vision informed me of all that is needful to me, answered by this word and said: It behoved that there should be sin; but all shall be well and all shall be well, and all manner of thing shall be well. . . .

"But I saw not sin; for I believe it hath no manner of substance, nor no part of being, nor could it be known but by the pain it is cause of."¹⁶

She asks again,

"saying thus to our Lord in my meaning with full great dread: Ah! good Lord, how might all be well, for the great hurt that is come by sin to the creature? And here I desired, as far as I durst, to have some more open declaring wherewith I might be eased in this matter."¹⁷

And then the Lord answers her "with full lovely cheer," and teaches her the "glorious Satisfaction of the Cross,"—what she calls "the Amends-making," and says to her "Since I have made well the most harm, then it is my will that thou know thereby that I shall make well all that is less."¹⁸

But still she puzzles. She has learned from the nuns at Carrow that Holy Church teaches that many creatures shall be condemned, that "many in earth that dieth out of the faith of Holy Church and many that hath received Christendom and liveth un-Christian life and so dieth out of charity, all these shall be

¹⁵ Warrack ed., p. lxxv.

¹⁶ P. 55f.

¹⁷ P. 60.

¹⁸ P. 60.

condemned to hell without end, as Holy Church teacheth me to believe. And all this so standing, methought it was impossible that all manner of things should be well, as our Lord shewed me in the same time."¹⁹

She is a true liberal and turns from the hard doctrine of Holy Church, to ask of her Lord. And from Him she learns the same lesson Browning learned, of Universalism and optimism. Her Lord says only in answer "That which is impossible to thee is not impossible to me. I shall save my word in all things, and I shall make all things well."²⁰

"Thus I understood that all His blessed Children which be come out of Him by nature shall be brought again unto Him by grace."²¹

"All kinds that He hath made to flow out of Him to work His will shall be restored and brought again unto Him."

And, as I said, we must remember that she is not blind, any more than is Browning, to "the exceeding sinfulness of sin." She concludes the whole matter with these words, which, like Browning, she holds are quite compatible with Universal Restoration and God's courteous Love.

"I am sure by mine own feeling, the more that any kind (i.e. natural, filial, human) soul seeth this in the courteous love of our Lord God, the lother is he to sin and the more he is ashamed. . . . For sin is so vile and so greatly to be hated that it may be likened to a pain which is not sin. And to me was shewed no harder hell than sin. For a kind soul hath no hell but sin. . . . Then shall we hate sin like as God hateth it and love the soul as God loveth it."²²

The student of Browning will remember how he, too, faces this problem and traces it through all its ramifications in human life. To him, also, sin is no abstraction, and yet sin's "stumbling blocks he turns into stepping stones."²³

He begins with the age-old question as did Julian:

"Wherefore should any evil happen to man—
From ache of flesh to agony of soul—
Since God's All-Mercy mates All-Potency?

¹⁹ P. 66.

²⁰ P. 67.

²¹ P. 159.

²² P. 83.

²³ *The Ring and the Book, The Pope.*

Nay, why permits He evil to Himself—
 Man's sin accounted such? Suppose a world
 Purged of all pain, with fit inhabitants—
 Man pure of evil in thought, word and deed—
 Were it not well? Then wherefore otherwise?" ²⁴

And he answers in his poems, by a life-long study of the worst characters and crimes ever described in decent literature. His philosophy of evil emerges when he discovers that no man is static, all are progressing, there is always "somewhat to cast off, somewhat to become." He says,

"While man knows partly but conceives beside,
 Creeps ever on from fancies to the fact,
 And in this striving, this converting air
 Into a solid he may grasp and use,
 Finds progress, man's distinctive mark alone,
 Not God's, and not the beasts': God is, they are,
 Man partly is and wholly hopes to be."

Not to know, to fall, to sin, these do not discourage him because we only know our ignorance by getting further knowledge, we fall to rise again, we sin and God saves, "Else," as the Pope says,

"I avert my face, nor follow him
 Into that sad obscure sequestered state
 Where God unmakes but to remake the soul
 He else made first in vain, which must not be." ²⁵

"There shall never be one lost good! What was shall live as before;
 The evil is null, is nought, is silence implying sound;
 What was good shall be good, with, for evil, so much good more;
 On the earth the broken arcs; in the heaven a perfect round." ²⁶

Incidentally it is interesting to note how the retired recluse and the busy man of the world both single out one sin for especial condemnation, the same sin of accidie, or sloth. The former says:

"Thou seest well thou art a wretched creature, a sinner and also unfaithful.
 For thou keepest not the command; thou dost promise oftentimes our Lord
 that thou shalt do better, and anon after thou fallest again into the same, espe-

²⁴ Mihrab Shah.

²⁵ The Ring and the Book, The Pope.

²⁶ Abt Vogler, IX.

cially into sloth and losing of time. (For that is the beginning of sin, as to my sight.)" ²⁷

She like Browning, is a positive Christian. Her code, like his, contains no negative commandments, and no limitations. "Browning has each man let out all the power that is in him and throw himself upon life with the whole energy of his being. It is better even to seek evil with one's whole mind, than to be lukewarm in goodness." ²⁸ He has forever pilloried those two feeble people in *The Statue* and *the Bust* in these words:

"And the sin I impute to each frustrate ghost
Is, the unlit lamp and the ungirt loin
Though the end in sight was a vice, I say."

Passing now to another view of life held by them both, we come to their common optimism; their joy in Nature, in beauty in all life, their conviction of the final victory of good over evil

"I saw our Lord scorn (the Devil's) malice and set at nought his unmight; and He willeth that we do so. For this sight I laughed mightily and that made them to laugh that were about me and their laughing was a pleasure to me. I thought that I would that all mine even Christens had seen as I saw and then would they all laugh with me. But I saw not Christ laugh. For I understood that we may laugh in comforting of ourselves and joying in God for that the Devil is overcome." ²⁹

She is very positive about this for she repeats several times the words I have already given, using them in different settings.

"And thus," she says, "our good Lord answered to all the questions and doubts that I might make, saying full comfortably 'I may make all thing well, I can make all thing well, I will make all thing well and I shall make all thing well; and thou shalt see thyself that all manner of thing shall be well.'" ³⁰

She does not say this in any forgetfulness of the dark side of life. That is not true optimism. She says, regarding another *Revelation*:

"And this word 'Thou shalt not be overcome,' was said full clearly and full mightily for assuredness and comfort against all tribulations that may come.

²⁷ P. 186.

²⁸ Jones, p. 104.

²⁹ P. 31f.

³⁰ P. 62.

He said not: 'Thou shalt not be tempested, thou shalt not be travailed, thou shalt not be afflicted'; but He said, 'Thou shalt not be overcome.' God willeth that we take heed to these words, and that we be ever strong in sure trust, in weal and woe. For He loveth and enjoyeth us, and so willeth He that we love and enjoy Him and mightily trust in Him—and all shall be well."³¹

Even on the Cross, she sees through the pain and shame:

"Suddenly (I beholding the same Cross) He changed the look of His blessed Countenance. The changing of His blessed Countenance changed mine, and I was as glad and merry as it was possible. Then brought our Lord merrily to my mind: 'Where is now any point of the pain, or of the grief?' And I was full merry."³²

There is nothing of the morbid ascetic in Mother Julian. She is as full of the confidence in God's goodness, and of the joy of living as was Browning, and that is saying a good deal, especially when it is said of a Mystic of the Middle Ages.

God's attitude to man is "courteous, glad and merry," and we do Him less honour by solemnity than by "cheer of mirth and joy."

"For it is God's will that we hold us in comfort with all our might: for bliss is lasting without end, and pain is passing and shall be brought to nought for them that shall be saved. And therefore it is not God's will that we follow the feelings of pain and sorrow and mourning for them, but that we suddenly pass over, and hold us in endless enjoyment."³³

This is such an unusual, such a modern note, so in harmony with the robust and most modern of poets that I am tempted to give one more quotation.

Most mystics feel obliged to take their pleasure sadly, but this one writes: "For it is the most worship to Him of anything that we may do, that we live gladly and merrily, for His love (even) in our penance."³⁴

Browning's optimism is too well known to require much quotation.

³¹ P. 170.

³² P. 45.

³³ P. 36.

³⁴ P. 196.

"Gladness be with thee, Helper of the World!
I think this is the authentic sign and seal
Of Godship, that it ever waxes glad,
And more glad, until gladness blossoms, burst
Into a rage to suffer for mankind,
And recommence at sorrow." ³⁵

"The world's no blot for us,
Nor blank; it means intensely and means good." ³⁶

Nothing for him was "too good to be true." He was "the heir of hopes too fair to turn out false."

But it was not, any more than Julian's, a matter of good digestion, or ostrich-like refusal to see the evil in the world. We have seen him face that at its worst, and his optimism is the result. It is not a pious hope. It is a profound conviction which has stood the test of facts and therefore it is true. As Prof. Jones says, "Browning lifted morality into an optimism and translated its battle into a song," ³⁷ and rightly he won the right. He knows the struggle, but he foresees the victory. He really enjoys the struggle more than the victory, but it is his unconquerable hope that fills the struggle with joy.

"No, when the fight begins within himself,
A man's worth something. God stoops o'er his head;
Satan looks up between his feet—both tug—
He's left himself i' the middle; the soul awakes
And grows. Prolong that battle through this life!
Never leave growing till the life to come." ³⁸

It is the optimism of perfect trust, the inevitable outcome of faith in God—

"I felt quite sure that God had set
Himself to Satan: who would spend
A moment's mistrust on the end?" ³⁹

"My own hope is, and sure will pierce
The thickest cloud earth ever stretched;
That after Last, returns the First,

³⁵ Balaustion.

³⁶ Fra Lippo Lippi.

³⁷ P. 71.

³⁸ Bishop Blougram.

³⁹ Count Gismond.

Though a wide compass round be fetched;
That what began best, can't end worst,
Nor what God blest once, prove accurst." ⁴⁰

—ending in his last words:

"Never doubted clouds would break,
Never dreamed though right were worsted, wrong would triumph,
Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
Sleep to wake,"

with all eternity to work again in.

And so we come to the greatest resemblance between our two Mystics, which I have left to the last: the supreme principle of Love.

As Mother Julian very truly says:

"And of this knowing are we most blind. For some of us believe that God is Almighty and may do all, and that He is All Wisdom and can do all; but that He is All-Love and will do all, there we stop short. And this not-knowing it is that hindereth most God's lovers, as to my sight." ⁴¹

"For it is God's will," she adds, "that of all the properties of the blissful Trinity we should have most sureness and comfort in Love." ⁴²

"Sin is to Julian an injury against love, an injury most unnatural because the lover would be 'all fair and shining' in the sight of the loved one. She does not think of it as an infringement of a law or as something for which God will be angry. The sadness of an injury to love is the greater because the pain of the lover does not make him either angry or reproachful." ⁴³

And she sums up the whole teaching of her Revelations as she closes her book in these words:

"And from that time that it was shewed, I desired oftentimes to wit (learn) what was our Lord's meaning. And fifteen years after and more I was answered in ghostly understanding, saying thus: Wouldst thou learn thy Lord's meaning in this thing? Learn it well. Love was His meaning. Who shewed it thee? Love. What shewed He thee? Love. Wherefore shewed it He? For Love. Hold thee therein and thou shalt learn and know more in the same. But thou shalt never know nor learn therein other thing without end.

Thus was I learned that Love was our Lord's meaning." ⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Apparent Failure.

⁴¹ P. 179.

⁴² P. 180.

⁴³ Thouless, *The Lady Julian*, p. 72.

⁴⁴ P. 202.

And these words follow and end her Revelations:

"And I saw full surely that ere God made us, He loved us; which love was never slacked nor ever shall be. And in this love He hath done all His works: and in this love He hath made all things profitable to us; and in this love our life is everlasting. In our making we had beginning, but the love wherein He made us was in Him from without beginning; in which love we have our beginning. And all this shall we see in God, without end."⁴⁵

Turning now to Browning, it again seems almost superfluous to quote. But our comparison must not be left vague, and so I mention only these passages, chosen from many:

"For the loving worm within its clod
Were diviner than a loveless God,
Amid His worlds, I will dare to say."⁴⁶

"For life with all it yields of joy and woe
And hope and fear
Is just our chance o' the prize of learning love."⁴⁷

And then the great burst of praise in Saul.

"Would I suffer for him that I love? So wouldst Thou. So wilt Thou!
So shall crown Thee, the topmost, ineffablest uttermost crown—
And thy love fill infinitude wholly, nor leave up nor down
One spot for the creature to stand in."⁴⁸

This is Browning's great contribution as poet and theologian; it is like Hegel's Reason and Schopenhauer's Will and Schleiermacher's Feeling and more fruitful. He traces the moral ideal, the meaning and value of human life back to God, who is Love. Love is for the poet, the supreme principle both of morality and religion. After all the doubt and suffering, both Mother Julian and Browning, like Dante, finish with the Vision of Love as supreme, "the Love which moves the sun and the other stars."

"O world as God has made it! All is beauty:
And knowing this is love and love is duty,
What further may be sought for or declared?"⁴⁹

⁴⁵ P. 203.

⁴⁶ Christmas Eve.

⁴⁷ A Death in the Desert.

⁴⁸ Saul.

⁴⁹ The Guardian Angel.

"There is no good of life but love—but love!
What else looks good, is some shade flung from love,
Love yields it, gives it worth. Be warned by me."⁵⁰

"Never you cheat yourself one instant! Love,
Give love, ask only love, and leave the rest."

And here we may fitly leave our comparison. As none of the Mystics, in all the ages, has laid such stress upon love, so no poet that I know has sung so worthily and insistently of it. Here our two, the woman and the man, the medieval anchoress and the modern philosophical poet meet and almost quote from each other. For either of them might have written:

"So, the All-Great were the All-Loving, too—
So, through the thunder comes a human voice
Saying, 'O heart I made, a heart beats here!
Face, my hands fashioned, see it in myself!
Thou hast no power, nor may'st conceive of mine,
But love I gave thee, with myself to love,
And thou must love me, who have died for thee.'" ⁵¹

⁵⁰ In a Balcony.

⁵¹ An Epistle of Karshish.

AN OUTLINE OF THE CHURCH CONGRESS

By DONALD B. ALDRICH, Church of the Ascension, New York City,
Chairman of the Church Congress

It is a great privilege to write this article upon the Church Congress, especially because it marks the first publication of a Congress syllabus in the *ANGLICAN THEOLOGICAL REVIEW*, and thus introduces the relationship between the *REVIEW* and the Congress. The Committee deeply appreciates Dean Grant's offer of the *REVIEW* as the organ of the Congress publications and looks forward to long years of increasing usefulness in this partnership.

The Church Congress has taken on a new lease of life during the last twelve months under the guidance of the following committee:

Rev. Donald B. Aldrich, D.D., Chairman
Rev. Ralph S. Meadowcroft, Secretary-Treasurer
Very Rev. Hiram R. Bennett, D.D.
Rev. Raymond Cunningham
Rev. Frank Gavin, Th.D.
Very Rev. Walter H. Gray
Rev. Thomas L. Harris
Rev. Chauncey Clark Kennedy
Rev. Daniel A. McGregor, Ph.D.
Rev. J. Howard Melish, D.D.
Mr. Clifford P. Morehouse
Rev. H. Adye Prichard, D.D.
Rev. Howard Chandler Robbins, D.D.
Rev. Guy Emery Sipler, D.D.
Rev. Granville M. Williams, S.S.J.E.
Rev. Harold G. Willis

We have tried to meet several needs in the Church as here outlined:

POLICY

1. The need for guided study among the clergy. It is estimated that not more than twenty per cent. of our men are doing

systematic study after being more than five years out of seminary.

2. We are trying to provide a method by which the clergy in less populous areas can receive stimulus from the more privileged clergy. In New York and in Boston, etc., we have many study groups and every opportunity for pursuing studies at home and in libraries, etc., but the opportunities for many of our men in rural sections are greatly limited. By means of a common syllabus of study and a clearing house of ideas from one group to another through the medium of the Congress Secretary and the *ANGLICAN THEOLOGICAL REVIEW*, we who are so privileged can help others. This is a missionary opportunity of great potential significance for the Church's future.

3. The hope also is to provide, as the Congress did in the past, a bridge of meeting between the differing groups in the Church. Undoubtedly the Church is being injured by our growing party insularity—indeed, we as individuals are being stunted in our spiritual and intellectual growth. We do not want to make compromise agreements, but we do feel it would be of great value if we could come to understand and respect the differing points of others and help them to understand us.

4. We further desire to make the meeting of the Congress, when it is convened, not just a pleasant opportunity for fellowship and somewhat superficial debate, but an earnest discussion of vital problems which have been anticipated by previous study so that we can really discover and express the mind of our Church upon these subjects.

METHOD OF PROCEDURE

1. The compilation of a syllabus of study upon some subject of fundamental and contemporary significance. The present syllabus is *The Basis for Christian Faith and Action Today* and is split up under the following chapters:

1. The Permanence of Christianity—Dean Grant
2. The Conditions of Our Times—The Rev. Joseph Fletcher
3. The Significance of Humanism—Dean Sperry

4. The Application of Christianity:

- a) to the Church—The Rev. Granville M. Williams, S.S.J.E.
- b) to the State—The Rev. J. Howard Melish
- c) to the Community—The Rev. Daniel A. McGregor

This syllabus will continue until the fall of this year and a new syllabus will be presented in October 1937 to continue in four sections for twelve months. The suggested next syllabus is to be "The Content and Authority of Christian Evangelism."

The syllabus is not so much a series of articles as a stimulant for study and discussion. Book lists are added to each section.

2. THE ANGLICAN THEOLOGICAL REVIEW now becomes the official organ of the Church Congress and the syllabus of the Congress will be published quarterly in its pages, along with news of the activities of the Congress.

3. The syllabus is to be studied by groups of men, preferably not too large in number. We hope the groups will contain men who have different conceptions of churchmanship, etc., but we make no rules as to number and time of meeting, method of procedure and so on—all this is left to the initiative of the group to make such arrangements as suit themselves, e.g., some groups are meeting once a month, others meet monthly but use the syllabus alternate months, and one group is meeting twice per year for a twenty-four hour retreat.

We ask that the members of the groups pay small dues (determined by themselves) to their local treasurer to help defray the expenses of at least one delegate to the Congress when it shall be held. (It is expected to be in 1938). We would like a report of the discussion, emphasizing particular differences and agreements, unusual points discussed, etc., to be sent to the Congress Secretary which may be passed on as suggestions to other groups. Note Section 2 under policy.

FINANCIAL REPORT

We need about \$1,000 a year to support the work we are doing. This will be covered by membership of which there are various kinds: (1) Active membership—\$1 per year, to whom will be

sent a reprint of the syllabus from the *ANGLICAN THEOLOGICAL REVIEW*; (2) Associate membership—\$5 per year, which will include a subscription to the *ANGLICAN THEOLOGICAL REVIEW* (the Editors of the magazine have made a special price of \$2 per year to Congress members, thus \$3 of the \$5 will be used for Congress expenses); (3) Sustaining membership—\$10 per year, which includes a subscription to the *ANGLICAN THEOLOGICAL REVIEW*; (4) Patrons—\$25 per year, which will include subscription to the *ANGLICAN THEOLOGICAL REVIEW*.

Finally, we welcome interest and support for our work and cordially invite you to write the Rev. Ralph S. Meadowcroft, St. Mark's Rectory, Islip, Long Island, N. Y., the Secretary-Treasurer.

Church Congress Syllabus No. 1

THE BASIS OF CHRISTIAN FAITH AND ACTION
TODAY

PART I. THE PERMANENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

By FREDERICK C. GRANT,

President of Seabury-Western Theological Seminary, Evanston

Almost the oldest institution in our western world is the Christian Church. Even the Jewish synagogue antedates it in origin by only a few generations. Our European-American political institutions, the varied patterns of our social and industrial life, our language, our schools, our ideals of freedom and democracy and the institutions set up to safeguard or to maintain them—none of these is comparable in age with the Christian religion and its institution, the Church. Political ideals have arisen, been achieved, or passed away—but the Church continues. Compared with the Church, most of our political and social institutions are in fact of quite recent date. There must surely be some significance attaching to this fact, viz. that our oldest social institution is religious, if only we can make it out.

Bevan, *Christianity* (in the Home University Library).
The Outline of Christianity, Vol. 1.
Christianity in the Light of Modern Knowledge.

This is not saying that the Church has not changed during the course of past centuries, or that it need not or cannot change today. But it is clear that the changes which came over it—as during the Middle Ages, at the Reformation, or in consequence of the rise of modern science—have not altered its fundamental structure: it did not set out, nineteen centuries ago, as the Christian Church, and then turn into something else at the beginning of the fourth century, or in the tenth or thirteenth, the sixteenth

or the nineteenth. For the patent fact is that it has survived. Its sacred book is still the New Testament, its message is still the Gospel, its great sacraments are still Baptism and the Supper, its worship is still addressed to the wise and loving God revealed in Christ. The changes which have overtaken it were mainly external, and consequent upon the better adaptation of its underlying message to the needs and conditions of successive generations and of different peoples. As a living faith, and hence sharing the qualities of life itself, the Christian religion has adapted itself to new outlooks upon the world, new social attitudes among men—some of these in no small measure the result of its own influence upon society. But it has changed only in order to preserve its own continuity—by that paradox which is forced upon every institution which counts upon survival in a world of change.

F. R. Barry, *Christianity and the New World* (originally *The Relevance of Christianity*).

F. R. Barry, *The Relevance of the Church*.

W. R. Inge, 'Confessio Fidei,' in *Outspoken Essays*, Vol. ii.

It is no new thing for the Christian religion to find its claims to permanence challenged by those who would shatter 'this sorry scheme of things entire,' and then re-mould it nearer to the heart's desire. Prophets of secularism in the seventeenth century announced the doom of Christianity—and so had Julian the Apostate in the fourth century, and Celsus in the second.

'But, Lord, thy church is praying yet,
A thousand years the same.'

In our days, and on this side of the world, the doom of Christianity is heralded in somewhat different terms. It is no longer attacked as the device of priestlings, to keep the ignorant masses subject to their power—though in Russia this was the charge brought against all religion by the Bolsheviks. Nor is it represented as a mass of superstitious dogmas, destined to pale and fade before the clear light of reason. The charges have been altered. It is now maintained by its opponents that :

1. In a universe where everything is relative, no doctrine or institution can claim finality or permanence.

2. The forces which really control the destinies of men are economic, biological, perhaps even geographical—not religious.

3. There is so much good in other religions, and such complete adaptation of these religions to the peoples who profess them, that Christianity cannot claim to be the absolute or final or universal religion, suited to all men everywhere.

4. Christianity has failed: it has not abolished war, or poverty, or aggressive self-seeking, or the exploitation of one group by another, or ignorance, or vice, even in those regions where it has for centuries been the dominant religion.

5. Christianity is hopelessly divided: it has ceased to be one united faith, and has frayed out into a tangle of sects. Look at Japan! It has forty-two million Buddhists, divided among eleven sects; and 280,000 Christians, with twenty-two sects—one Christian to every one hundred and fifty Buddhists, but twice as many sects! And the United States has over two hundred Christian and semi-Christian sects!

6. And yet wherever Christianity has long been dominant, with one church in power, and sects prohibited, the social and educational backwardness of the people has always seemed to be an invariable accompaniment—or consequence.

7. Christianity stands for an impossible and fantastic ethics, either renouncing the world and 'looking for a city to come,' or else retreating into pure individualism here and now. The ethics of the Sermon on the Mount are suited to a small, persecuted sect; they have nothing to offer in the way of guidance to a nation or a community faced with the practical, everyday problems of administering justice and controlling human relations. The ethics of ascetical renunciation, of non-resistance, of self-sacrifice, are totally unsuited to a world which could at once, if it had the nerve, enter upon 'an economy of abundance.' The ascetical principle at the heart of Christianity really hampers the minds of men, and plays into the hands of those who in their own selfish interest oppose the scientific mass-production which would provide plenty for all.

8. As a matter of fact, the appeal to self-sacrifice in the interest of an idealism that concerned itself chiefly with regulating the rest of the world ('Make the world safe for democracy') was a Christian appeal. And see what it led to! Pure selfishness, 'enlightened' or otherwise, could scarcely have done worse.

9. People making no profession of Christianity, or of any religion at all, are often happier than Christians, make better neighbors and citizens, and grow up normal human beings without the emotional strains and mental complexes often produced by the outworn doctrines of sin, atonement, repentance, the divine law or the will of God, and other primitive or medieval concepts.

10. At the very least, the religious attitude toward life does not depend upon acceptance of the dogmas and institutions of Christianity. One can be just as reverent, just as devout, just as religious in facing the facts of life, without belonging to any church, accepting any creed, or believing any particular doc-

trine—e.g. belief in God, or in immortality, or the existence of a 'soul' separate from the body.

These are examples of the kind of challenge that confronts the Church today. It is not easy to be a Christian at the present time. The 'ages of faith' have passed away—if they ever existed. It takes real conviction to hold the Christian outlook, in our world, and it takes careful, patient, prolonged thinking to be able to set it forth persuasively and 'give a reason for the faith that is in you' to those who believe that the world would be better off without religion. It is not simply modern science that has upset men's faith, or modern biblical criticism, or the study of other religions, or the spread of 'socialism,' or the vast slump in idealism following the World War, or the financial depression. All these have played their part, but whether taken separately or taken all together they do not suffice to account for the situation confronting the Christian religion in this generation.

The underlying cause is a weakening of the religious view of life, and a consequent relaxing of the control of faith over the wills of men. Religion is treated as something intellectual and academic, a series of problems to be discussed or propositions to be defined; whereas it is in truth the thirst for God and its satisfaction in His presence; and it begins, not seated in an easy chair with a book, or gathered about a conference table, but upon one's knees in prayer. God must be objectively real, quite apart from our thoughts and feelings, our piety or edification, if religion is to be sound and vigorous. But for vast multitudes in our modern world religion is 'sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought.' Too few of us are able to stand up and say, "Whatever the objections that may be raised—and in due course they must be dealt with fairly and fully—let me state at the outset that there are certain things I know from my own experience. These things I know; I have not merely felt or thought or believed them, but in some deeper sense I have lived them, and nothing can convince me that they are unreal." Without convictions of this kind, rooted in personal experience, no religion can count upon an indefinite future; nor can men find the ground firm beneath their

feet for any program of propagating their faith or for social action under its inspiration. A religion without saints is no religion; a faith without convictions which would, if necessary, lead men to martyrdom, is not much of a faith. And no one can entertain much confidence in the permanence of Christianity, faced now with such problems as have been outlined above, who has not himself felt burning within him the flame of personal conviction as to the utter and everlasting reality of God, dependence of the human soul upon Him, the paramount duty of obedience to the Will of God, and the objective truth (quite apart from one's own feelings or ideas) of His revelation of Himself in Christ. Christianity might conceivably be so diluted as to be no longer worth keeping as a religion, no longer a faith to guide men, a support and resource in time of need; but Christianity is still far from such a state of compromise and dilution; it is still a living faith, richly rewarding those who come under its spell and discover within this ancient faith a peace and a strength which the fluctuating opinions and theories of the day can never provide. For at its heart is still 'the everlasting Gospel' which we do not so much lay hold upon, or comprehend, as it lays hold upon and compels us.

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FOR DISCUSSION

1. Does science lead inevitably to a 'relativist' view of the universe or of human life?
2. Even upon the view that the ultimate forces of human life are economic or biological, is there no place for religion? Can the full meaning of life be made out without regard for the emergence of what we call the 'spiritual' life?
3. As a matter of fact, *are* the 'other' religions better adapted to other nations than is Christianity? And do not the 'good' elements in them appear also in Christianity, along with still other good qualities, worth keeping and passing on? Does the argument—viz. that other religions are better adapted to China, India, etc.—ever get applied to science, hygiene, or industry? Is it valid?
4. Has Christianity failed—or, as Chesterton insists, merely never been fully tried? How would it apply to the three great problems of today, as the Master of Balliol calls them: Property, Sex, and War?
5. Does the movement toward Christian Reunion offset in any degree the charge that 'Christianity is hopelessly divided'? And is it fair to count every tiny sect when computing the 'divisions' of Christendom?
6. Is there anything to be said on the other side—e.g. that industrial organization is not the end of civilized life? May not people be happy, and even good, in 'backward' areas?
7. Can we distinguish between the application of the Gospel ethics to 'the individual in his solitariness' and to society at large? Were some precepts meant for individuals, not for nations or communities? Must not the *spirit* of the Gospel stand above its letter? And is not this the task of the Church, through its ethics or moral theology, to interpret and apply the teaching of the Gospel in situations not contemplated in first century Palestine? Or is this merely evasion of the duty laid upon all Christians?
8. War is not the only theatre for the display of self-sacrifice. What if doctors, nurses, teachers, mothers, let us say, were to call for a moratorium upon self-sacrifice? Or is this a different kind? Has hedonism (the philosophy of pleasure) ever produced either a stable society or any permanent advances in human welfare?
9. What would people now living in Christian surroundings, but repudiating Christianity, do if Christianity disappeared, or if they were removed to a society which lacked every trace of Christian influence? Would they still remain the happy contented citizens and neighbors they are now? And how would their children grow up—lacking every Christian or religious element in their environment?
10. What is meant by 'the religious attitude' when used, e.g., of those who do not believe in God? Has such an attitude ever maintained itself, not merely by individuals but upon the social scale, apart from the framework of 'the dogmas and institutions' of Christianity or of some other concrete, historic religion?

To the mind of our generation, the permanence of Christianity cannot be presented as a deductive inference from the doctrine of its divine origin—although of course, if Christianity were proved (or accepted) as of divine origin, its permanence would seem to be implied (even though for St. Paul the Mosaic Law was of divine origin and yet was transitory). To the mind of our generation the permanence, or rather the continuance, of Christianity is something that must be proved by its actual survival, not demonstrated theoretically or ex-hypothesi.

Although there are still a good many persons who hold the older view and assume that Christianity is by its nature destined to be permanent and unchanging, it would seem that the call to action involved in the modern approach is much stronger than in the traditional one. If Christianity is to be permanent, it must in some sense be *made* permanent. We cannot sit idly by watching a divine process—e.g. the process of election—take place before our eyes. It is a contest, a battle, and if we are true to our leader Christ, we must get into the thick of it. In the last resort the battle does not depend entirely upon us, of course; but we must work and do battle *as if it did*.

We have come to a time which many view as a turning-point in history, both sacred and secular, both religious and political; some would say, we have arrived at the time of the end for religion and all its institutions, not only Christianity but every religious institution. We by no means believe this a sound view. Nevertheless it is fairly widely held. In a time like this, every person who has any real convictions must stand up and acknowledge them. A genial, passive, anonymous, non-committal attitude of 'friendliness' to religion will not do. What the world wants and what our times demand, is men of positive, thought-out convictions who are willing to say specifically what they believe. And certainly from the human view-point, if the permanence of Christianity is to be assured for this generation and generations to come, men of conviction must not hesitate to stand up and be counted.

Church Congress Syllabus No. 1

THE BASIS OF CHRISTIAN FAITH AND ACTION
TODAY

PART II. THE CONDITIONS OF OUR TIMES

By JOSEPH F. FLETCHER,

Director, Graduate School of Applied Religion *

- (1) Review of Conditions
Religious, cultural, political, economic
- (2) Questions for Discussion
(With study-references)
- (3) Bibliography

1. *Review of Conditions*

A. RELIGION. *These are days of great doubt and confusion, unrest and even collapse.*

From the viewpoint of a religious man (a viewpoint which is explicit and conscious much more rarely than clergy ever seem to realize), our times are especially significant. The concept of 'crisis' in recent theological literature reflects the turmoil of re-thinking that was started under 'modernist' auspices and the higher criticism of the preceding century. It also reflects the objective social and cultural situation in civilization.

The condition of religion in our times cannot be surveyed in

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Mr. Fletcher is a leader in Christian sociology with much practical experience in dealing with labor and industrial problems. He has worked in a coal mine, in factories and elsewhere, and thus has an intimate knowledge of "front-line" Christianity.

a vacuum. Theology, in any realistic view of contemporary culture, is partaking of the flux and 'process' which affects every other area of man's experience and rational inquiry. There is 'crisis' in the economic and political structure; there is 'crisis' in faith and morals. (In a sense we may say that crisis is a continuum of experience and that it made its first appearance when Adam and Eve left the Garden of Eden! But this view in no way minimizes the vital significance of the issues confronting us in the Twentieth Century.)

The word itself is not important. Its meaning for our times is. Therefore, we may use any word we prefer provided it carries the double sense of emergency and perplexity. (Religious thinkers like Barth have attached a judgment-idea to *krisis*, for example, which is absent from its current use in world culture.)

Nowhere is the confusion of this era more apparent than in religion. This is true of 'organized' religion as well as of the innumerable sects and vaguely theistic 'osophies' which comprise America's two hundred and more 'bodies.' Indeed, the present position of the Church is clearly a matter of grave concern to those within, responsible for its leadership. Much of the current effort to 'revive' faith and worship by 'forward' movement of one sort or another is in its inner meaning the Church's struggle to save itself. What is said to be militancy is really 'military' and defensive. When the Church seeks to save itself it is probably lost. This possibility becomes apparent in the realm of the unconscious attitudes behind the rank-and-file clergyman's program. A mild melancholia infects the outlook of many younger men, unless their work lies in securely entrenched parishes of developed communities and privileged supporters. The new generations, their spokesmen in the universities, and even the more recent graduates of our seminaries, find it difficult to measure the Church's relevance to our times.

The Church, in its broad ecclesiastical nature and its parochial institutions, was once the center of cultural and community life. This is no longer the case, even for its members. Statecraft, education and learning, recreation, social life and philanthropy no

longer emanate from religious quarters to any significant extent. The Church actually devises ways and means of invading the citadels of higher education. The public schools have repudiated specific religious teaching as the price of public peace. In all fields of human relations the clergy have been supplanted by expert and effective Social Workers, so that the pastoral office has been reduced to 'parish-visiting' and liturgical ministrations. Even within the Church there is as yet no general sympathy with efforts to gear the methods of pastoral work to the realities of contemporary social relations and agencies. The antinomous phrases 'religious' and 'secular' are constant in clerical discussion. The Episcopal Church, taking a generous view of its statistics, represents one percentum of the American people.

Internally, religion is seriously divided. Christianity especially is threatened by this condition as the forces of agnosticism and antagonistic world-movements crystallize. Whatever can be said for the paradox that disunity *may* be a sign of health and integrity within, the fact remains as cause for serious concern when viewed from without. The Church as a social element, of necessity so regarded from the point of view of its impact upon an unredeemed world (which is its *raison d'être*), is a house divided against itself. Movements toward rapprochement, either on a basis of unity or co-operation, reveal an awareness of this critical truth among Christian leaders. But we may well ask whether there is not too much complacency or even indifference in the rank-and-file of Church members to exert the necessary pressure upon meetings like Faith and Order and Life and Work. Again, in view of the close relation between cultural and social security, can we look for the unity of faith and order before there is some Christian clarity as to the necessities of man's life and work? It will be hard to achieve a religious unity for men who are divided by the tensions of class conflict and political rivalry.

Pressed from without by 'worldly' necessities and issues which it seeks to evade or to minimize, and by the internal weaknesses of disunion and theological confusion, organized religion faces a misty future. The vast majority of Churchmen no longer find

comfort in a doctrine of indefectibility, unless in some etheralized and Augustinian sense which contains little comfort for the world of *Realpolitik*. The call to the catacombs once more, as we find it in Berdyaev and others, will probably not make a wide appeal. Nor will the promise of a 'saving remnant' find many to heed it. In past periods of crisis, religion has always revived an apocalyptic to comfort its devotees in the face of possible disaster or repudiation. But the 'psychology' of today is vastly different from the mood of Jeremiah's people, and even more removed from that of Joachim de Floris' congregations!

Religion has the status of a 'cult,' and nothing more, in the present social order. The concordats of western democracies, where the principle of State and Church separation is in effect, reduce religion to a small grouping within society. But it views itself, on its own plane, as totalitarian. The world in which and 'at' which it works will grant it no wider place in theory, and none in practice either. Therefore, in matters of the family and the education of the young, for example, the Church is frustrated at every point where the social living of our time affects the life of our people. This is an issue which is not settled. The Churches have not yet acquiesced in their subordinated role, if we may judge by the persistence of such struggles as taxation and the support of 'religious education.'

The position of religion in our times is more tenuous than ever before. In the first place, opposing forces are stronger than ever. But there is also another fundamental difficulty. The Church in patristic times was only a Society within society, but it knew it! The Church in medieval times was commensurate with society, and knew it much too confidently! But the Church in our own time has fallen back to her minority status *without accepting the fact* in outlook, policy or philosophy. It is doubtful whether the Christian fellowship, especially in its militant task of redemption, can ever bring the Gospel to bear until it faces the bitter truth that it is a 'minority movement' so far as the 'world' and its citizens are concerned. Its service to the fallacy of numbers is its own Sinbad.

B. CULTURE. *Religion, in spite of its weaknesses, can challenge the greater weaknesses of contemporary culture.*

While it is true that the Church is no longer at the center of prevailing social *mores*, there is the deeper truth that even religion itself has been displaced from cultural standards and attitudes. The character of daily journalism, the best-selling periodicals, and the widespread forms of inexpensive entertainment are interesting illustrations of this fact. Clergymen who have had the enterprise to measure the cultural influences exerted upon their flocks, in terms of the vehicles of culture in their community, will recognize this truth and its importance.

From the angle of Christian interest, the subordination of religion is not sufficient ground for discouragement. This is because no other core or basis has taken the place of religion. Present-day culture is without any orientation. The cultural preoccupations of our times are aimless and without unity. The Tercentenary Conference at Harvard a year ago is an interesting event, not only because it sought to correct this cultural anarchy and pointlessness, but also because so much attention was directed to rational Christianity as the most promising of catalytics for cultural orientation. Contemporary thought is clearly without unity, and there is little reason to believe that man's understanding can be ordered without a reference higher than himself. Humanistic culture is too much like Stephen Leacock's horseman who was wont to mount his horse and ride off in all directions! The recovery of a religious nexus, however, will depend upon the intellectual courage of the clergy to penetrate the aches and pains of our times with Christian criticism. This means, primarily, a Christian analysis of social problems, since they are the dynamic elements of the present world scene.

In this connection it is worth pointing out that the crisis in culture is closely allied, historically, with crisis in the economic and political structure. And yet these problems will probably not be settled without a change in the cultural values of the day. The production of goods and services, and the clarification of

political tensions, will have to wait upon activity in a deeper level. Social policy can hardly hope to chart a better course before it defines the values and the ends which are needed to give it unity. But the task of choosing ends is a matter of philosophy, not of technic.

An illustration is close at hand in the present-day worship of Progress without a goal. It is fashionable to respect Progress, while at the same time it is thought 'wise' to repudiate the doctrine or dogma which alone can set goals. For example, efforts on the part of serious Christians to evolve a Christian sociology are met with the objection, within as well as without the Church, that there can be no Christian sociology any more than there could be a Mohammedan mathematics! Such a viewpoint is not only mistaken in its confusion of the true nature of the social sciences with the natural sciences, but it also betrays the relevance of religion in the very areas where its guiding values are most urgently required. Method without purpose is futile, and only a rational philosophy of means and ends can save our economic life from its present stalemate. The liberal era, with its fine disregard of the 'doctrinaire' approach to human problems, is sounding its own death-knell in the collapse of *laissez-faire* democracy. The question is, whether Christianity can produce once more a doctrinaire vitality comparable to others (like Fascism and Communism) which are not ashamed to be dogmatic and committed to social objectives.

There are other causes for the lack of direction in contemporary culture. (The Bible and the Church, as external authorities, have been undermined—as much by religious confusion as by the attacks of an alien world-order). But the main point is that there is no *Volksgeist*, no world-view. It may well be that Christianity can provide it more adequately than any other element, if its proponents can free themselves from the inhibitions of the cult-status, plus the futile desire to 'be fair to everybody' in a world of conflicting interests. Our times call for clarity as well as for charity.

No philosophy, no view of life, has the promise of knitting a divided world so closely as the Christian Gospel. This is a common assertion, often set beside the more objective claims and demonstrations of Marxism. How far, and practically, can we explicate the unity we claim? Political and cultural insight should help us realize that St Paul's dictum, "We are members one of another," is no longer a pious aspiration, or merely a description of the *koinonia*. It is, in the Twentieth Century, a statement of world-wide fact, and no relevant Christian culture can afford to ignore it as such. The writings of Nicholas Berdyaev and Paul Tillich have underlined this truth. The *ethos* of the West, until the late Middle Ages, was in the direction of unity. The Christian Church profited accordingly. The cultural meaning of Western life since the Reformation has been division and individualization—in states, religion, profession and vocation.

But the whole significance of world events, especially under the impact of science and technology, is once more in the direction of unification. The pendulum is swinging. And the crucial question for those who bear the Christian culture today is: Can the Christian Religion restore itself, and take the reins of the historic process? Has it any alternative?

C. POLITICS. *The most immediate danger to religion is in the anarchy of world and national politics.*

The religious man, turning his unhappy gaze away from the confusion of Christianity, perversely discovers hope in the greater confusion of secular culture. He also finds that confusion intensified and grown sinister in the political issues of the day.

The usual view, apart from technical and rather academic definitions, is that there are three political systems struggling for acceptance; namely, democracy, fascism and socialism. No comment on the condition of our times would be complete without some mention of their political struggles, not only as a part of the picture but as essentially important.

Democracy, ever since the War which was supposed to have been fought for its sake, has been on the decline. Representing the victory of the rising middle-class over aristocratic domination, democracy now seems to be threatened by the growing political articulation and strength of the wage-earning masses. In some countries the rise of popular power results in entrenched reaction, or in Fascism, as in Germany and Italy; in others, like Russia and Spain, the result is Socialism or a near approach to it. Why is mankind not satisfied with democracy?

"Because it never *was* democracy," will probably be the answer of future historians. The demand for freedom and equality of opportunity, in an era of relative scarcity, took the political form of expression. But now, in an age of relative plenty, the masses of mankind demand a completion of equality, the extension of democracy to economic security as well as political. The conviction grows that there can be no true democracy, no true common government by mutual concern, where there is no economic democracy. Where there is no freedom for the general populace from material insecurity, there can be for them no real political security. The demand for economic guarantees is a demand that the 'democratic state' become more truly itself.

But *laissez-faire* democracy has never been concerned to allow the rule of the *demos*, the people. Far from it. The fathers of the American Republic, for example, hedged the Congress about with a system of 'checks-and-balances' and a written constitution difficult to change and aimed at the protection of property-owners and other minorities from popular control. Liberalizing influences, such as are represented in the New Deal, are met with bitter opposition and 'constitutional issues' at every turn.

When the economic structure of the Western democracies bends dangerously under the recurring attacks of breakdown and depression, the protests of the insecure population grow loud and threatening. Occasionally the situation is serious enough to cause the overthrow of parliamentary government, which in such crises proves too slow and unwieldy to control them. If this overthrow is accompanied by the overthrow of economic in-

equality, a socialistic state is in being. If not, it is fascism. The former seeks a fuller measure of Democracy; the latter rejects it. Religion, to judge by recent history, fares badly in either case.

There is no problem more pressing than the relation of Christianity to democracy. Democracy and Fascism are engaged in a death struggle in Europe, and the seeds of the same struggle may already be discerned in American affairs. Since 1929 we have ceased to pity Europe and speak glibly of a peculiar 'American plan.' Our economic and political system is the same, and subject to the same historic process.

The Church will do well to heed the advice of leaders like Dr. Temple, who urge us to purify democracy and extend it into the market-place and factory, as well as in the polling booth. The unemployed cannot eat or wear ballots. The treatment accorded Christianity in omniscient states like Germany is warning enough. If it succumbs to the greater ease of acquiescence, the Church may in the end suffer the more honest enmity of Socialism as in Russia, Spain and Mexico.

D. ECONOMICS. *In the ordering of its economic affairs the world deals with its basic necessity. It is precisely here that religion is most timid.*

There is not space here to make an analysis of the economic issues confronting religion and mankind, nor is there any need to do so since so many studies of the kind are available.

We can, however, point out certain suggestive facts and particulars. The first thing needful is to remind ourselves that in any Christian criticism of the economic order, we should begin by admitting that industry has done its job and done it remarkably well. The production of wealth has proceeded so rapidly, under the impulse of science and technology, that we are at last embarrassed by our plenty. The capacity to produce has overwhelmed us.

There are minds, men, machines and materials in abundance to satisfy the demand for economic goods, but the system of distribution has failed. Shorn of technical language, this simply

means that the present system of sharing our wealth is one of inequities, great enough to cause the disruption of economic activity. The present 'recovery' proceeds according to the same rules of the game which have always been employed after every one of the 'cyclical trade depressions.' They hold no greater promise of security than before. Indeed, the number of people on relief rolls is more. The unemployed are in the millions. The *under-employed* increase.

The presence of economic essays in our Church publications, and the pastoral letters of the Bishops, are a proof that the crisis in our economic life is taking shape in Christian thought as a crisis for religion as well. The situation is not that the Church is meddling in the business world, but that the business world (by its failures) is interfering in the work of the Church!

But it becomes very important that the interest of Christian criticism should be driven deeper into the social order than the problems of 'industrial relations,' wages, hours and factory conditions, which have been the chief substance of 'Christian ethics.' Religion is concerned with truth as well as with goodness and justice; Christians should weigh the validity of economic principles, as well as pass judgment upon their *results*! It will no longer be enough to take a *marginal* view of the economic problem. It means that Christian criticism will have to become a true critique.

A final word, about Organized Labor. The Episcopal Church has committed itself, in General Convention, to the proposition that labor has a right to 'effective' organization for collective bargaining-power. When this action was taken at Portland in 1922 the point was no longer an issue. Already the question was not *whether* labor should organize, but *how*! For the issue of 'industrial unionism' had arisen, the policy of uniting all the workers in an industry, regardless of craft or trade, in single, solid force. Recent events, as in the automobile industry, indicate the social importance of the new unionism. The old craft-unionism of the A. F. of L. is no longer effective in mass-production industry. Now the masses of unskilled workmen can,

and will, exert a tremendous strength. The struggle between employers and workers will inevitably become acute, on a large and significant scale. Christian criticism now will have to take serious account of labor.

The importance of solidarity among the workers is aggravated by the emergence of the 'sit-down' method of striking. It represents a threat against the absolute ownership of private property, but at the same time it reveals the propertyless condition of the masses and raises the moral issue, whether ownership is valid or even has meaning apart from use. It also reveals the probable truth that labor, in its struggles for security, *cannot* act effectively without infringing the property rights of those who own the tools of modern production.

We frequently hear it said that there is a 'Christian program' for social justice, which is to be preferred to Communism, Fascism or Capitalism. This is the first error we must reject. As yet Christianity has only a set of principles, not clearly defined. There is no Christian program. Whether there can be or not we do not know. But there is not a long time in which to find out. In the meanwhile it is to be hoped that the Church will not prove the accusation made against her by doctrinaire opponents of present injustice who say that without a program the Church is purely opportunistic. Can it be that because she has only principles, and no practices, the Church is in effect *unprincipled*?

II. *Questions for Discussion*

A. RELIGION. Can Christianity survive in a secularized world unless it adopts the defensive strategy of the 'united front' employed by revolutionary groups in alien societies? What need is greater for organized religion than unity?

Williams Adams Brown, *The Church: Catholic and Protestant*.

G. K. A. Bell, *Documents on Christian Unity* (two vols.).

If people are mistaken when they claim that religion has nothing to contribute to the vital issues confronting man today, what is wrong in our presentation of it?

F. R. Barry, *Christianity and the New World*.

V. A. Demant, *God, Man and Society*.

Has Christianity any genuine view of history and if so, how are we to conceive the Church's present 'tactical' position?

Nicholas Berdyaev, *The End of Our Times*.

Paul Tillich, *An Interpretation of History*.

B. CULTURE. How does Christianity's interpretation of the world's ills differ fundamentally from the view taken in non-religious circles?

Reinhold Niebuhr, *Reflections on the End of an Era*.

B. I. Bell, *O Men of God*.

In what respects does Marxism differ radically from the Christian world view?

Lewis, *et al.*, *Christianity and the Social Revolution*.

H. G. Wood, *Christianity and Communism*.

C. POLITICS. Is it true that democracy is the 'Christian form of politics,' and if so, what is meant in the Christian use of the term?

Maurice Reckitt, *Faith and Society*, chh. vii and viii.

Reinhold Niebuhr, *An Interpretation of Christian Ethics*.

Which is more compatible with Christian predispositions, Communism or Fascism?

Lewis, *et al.*, *Christianity and the Social Revolution*, esp. pp. 359-394.

William A. Brown, *Church and State in Contemporary America*.

D. ECONOMICS. Can Christian doctrines be interpreted for the problems of economic values and organization, or must they remain in the sphere of 'principle.'

R. Tribe, *The Christian Social Tradition*.

V. A. Demant, *God, Man and Society*.

What truth is there in the widely-made claim that 'capitalism' will no longer meet the social needs of mankind?

John Strachey, *The Theory and Practice of Socialism*.

George Soule, *The Coming American Revolution*.

Can it be, after all, that the Church's best wisdom would lie in its present policy of leaving technical social issues aside from its propaganda?

Paul Elmer More, *On Being Human*, chh. vi and vii.
Maurice Reckitt, *Faith and Society*.

III. Bibliography (additional)

- Dearmer, *et al.*, *Christianity and the Crisis*.
Lawrence Dennis, *The Coming American Fascism*.
Waldemar Gurian, *Bolshevism, Theory and Practice*.
W. G. Peck, *The Divine Society*.
W. G. Peck, *The Social Implications of the Oxford Movement*.
John Strachey, *The Theory and Practice of Socialism*.
H. E. Luccock, *Christian Faith and Economic Change*.
Shailer Matthews, *Christianity and Social Process*.
B. I. Bell, *A Catholic Looks at His World*.
E. E. Aubrey, *Present Theological Tendencies*.
S. and B. Webb, *Soviet Communism, A New Civilization*.

REVIEWS

The Bible in America. By P. Marion Simms. New York: Wilson-Erickson, 1936, pp. 25 + 394. \$3.75.

This is an account of the 'versions that have played their part in the making of the Republic.' The book opens with an account of the settlement of America as the background of the history of the Bible in America. The theocratic ideals and slow growth of tolerance are sketched in brief, as well as the character of the Bible translations brought hither by the various groups (p. 40: read 1740-1760 for the period of the Great Awakening). The number and quality of the various Bibles published in this country will certainly be a surprise to many readers. Anglicans have often wondered why the American Bible Society has insisted upon leaving out the Apocrypha, and also why in publishing the Bible it has clung so tenaciously to the King James Version. The answers appear on pp. 210f. The Bible Society undertook in 1848 to correct printers' errors and revise the archaic spelling of the King James Version, and was making steady if modest progress in this direction when in 1856 the Rev. A. C. Coxe of Baltimore, later Bishop of Western New York, questioned the right of the Society to make these mild changes. In 1857 he published a pamphlet charging the Society with making 24,000 changes in the Word of God and accusing the Society of succumbing before the onslaughts of German rationalism! The attack was effective and the reaction produced upon the Society persists to this day. Nothing could have been more unfortunate.

The author is greatly impressed by the American Standard Bible, which he says 'represents a larger scholarship than that of the Anglo-American Version and is the most faithful, and the most accurate, as well as the most American of any version in the solemn style ever made in English' (p. 214). At the same time he acknowledges that 'translations made by committees, representative of large groups, are always made at a certain disadvantage' (p. 226)—as an instance he cites the translation of Isaiah 7:14. We wish that we might share this enthusiasm for the American Standard; to us it seems greatly in need of further revision.

The chapter upon eccentric translations (ch. x) is fascinating, as is also the following chapter on sectarian translations. Ch. xiii deals with modern speech translations. Here the author does little more than state the facts without undertaking much in the way of a critical appraisal. The remainder of the book deals with the influence of the Bible upon national life and institutions. This is readable and deserves careful consideration by those for whom 'the Bible and the Bible only' still remains the adequate expression of 'the religion of Protestants.' The Anglican view of the Bible is not quite that of contemporary Protestantism. We have no 'fundamentalist' wing. Our fundamentalists are of a different order. Perhaps we ought to take the Bible more seriously than

we do; but at least we are not in much danger of viewing it either superstitiously or taking it as a set of oracles inspired from cover to cover.

The volume is well illustrated, and friends of the late J. M. P. Smith will be grateful for the picture facing page 332. Another fine illustration is the title page of the new Oxford Lectionary Bible; while the page from the King James Version facing page 60 is well chosen and very interesting. It is of course a superb example of Jacobean printing. Among other things which even the casual reader will probably gather from this illustration is the explanation of the *italics* which now appear in editions of the King James Version. A great many readers fail to understand the significance of these italics; we have even heard readers in church services endeavoring to emphasize these words! But as originally printed it must have been perfectly obvious, even to the wayfaring man, that these inserted words were there simply to make clear the sense in English. They were not printed in italic type at all (*italics* being reserved for marginal readings); the inserted words were set in small Roman type somewhat above the line and were clearly distinguishable from the beautiful black face in which the rest of the text was printed. It is clear, then, that the King James Version *could* be better presented to modern readers than as a rule it is.

Offsetting Bishop Coxe's unfortunate attack upon the Bible Society is a very interesting account (p. 232) of Bishop Seabury's *Morning and Evening Prayer with the Psalter* (1795), which contained a new translation of the Psalms and undertook to tone down their imprecatory passages. Instead of 'Destroy thou them, O God,' Seabury translated 'Thou wilt destroy them, O God,' etc. After such a beginning it is a pity the Episcopal Church has not progressed somewhat further in the direction of Psalter revision at the present time.

FREDERICK C. GRANT.

Prophet and Priest in Old Israel. By Adam C. Welch. London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1936, pp. 160. 4s. 6d.

Taking as his starting point the fact that in the crisis threatening the very existence of the nation in post-exilic days, Israel conservatively rallied on its cult, Dr Welch reasons, first, that the cult could not have been of Canaanite origin, and, secondly, that the prophets, held in high honor after the exile, could not in their own age have demanded its abolition. He maintains that the cult developed from pre-Mosaic origins. Moses was concerned to establish two principles, that Jahveh had chosen Israel, and that he had revealed to them his nature and his will. The cult, already in existence, was continued, with some slight revision, as a means of keeping alive the memory of the nation's deliverance by its God. It consisted of a family ritual, the passover, and of a communal observance, the feast in the wilderness for which Moses had demanded a furlough from the Pharaoh. The latter, presupposing a sanctuary, an established priesthood, and a custom of pilgrimage, served as the model for the ritual at the sanctuaries set up in Canaan in opposition to the baal sanctuaries, after the conquest. Since the cult was in origin pre-Mosaic, it did not represent the same convictions as those of Mosaism about the divine nature or about the nation's relation to its God. The result was an antinomy in the religion of

Israel from its very beginning. Dr Welch admits that the prophets were opposed to the cult because of this, but insists that the priests, equally aware of the inconsistency, but more in touch with the people, were themselves gradually effecting its removal. They were therefore in opposition to the prophets not in principle, but only as regards method. In support of his argument as to the steady priestly reform, Dr Welch advances a number of instances, e.g., the abolition of child sacrifice and of ritual prostitution.

While Dr Welch has perhaps softened down the prophetic opposition to the sacrificial system, his recognition of the important part played by the priesthood in the gradual reconciliation of the cult practice of Israel to the fundamental principles of Jahvism is to be welcomed. His contention as to the origin of the cult is, however, open to serious question. His distinction between the Passover and the feast in the wilderness is invalid; as Eduard Meyer pointed out thirty years ago, the primary narrative of the exodus knew nothing of any observance of the Passover in Egypt, a fact which Dr Welch ignores. He accepts as authentic the tradition locating the covenant at Horeb, and assigning the chief role to Moses, again ignoring the penetrating study by Meyer. He has assumed that the northern tribes had been under the influence of Moses, an impossibility as Dr T. J. Meek has recently shown. And, finally, he has overlooked the catastrophic nature of pre-Mosaic Jahvism, and the implications of this as regards the cult.

On these counts, the greater part of this section of his argument falls to the ground. What remains for further consideration is the question of the origin of the Passover, and the part it played in the development of the cult.

CUTHBERT A. SIMPSON.

Die Prophetie. By Abraham Heschel. Berlin: Erich Reiss Verlag, 1936, pp. vi + 194.

The prophets' conviction of divine inspiration is Mr Heschel's starting point in his study of the prophetic consciousness. He surveys the course of the long discussion, from Philo to Hölscher, as to the extent of the ecstatic element in the prophetic experience; then, ranging himself with the critics of Hölscher, insists that the comparison of ecstasy and prophecy, which he presents, shows that there is between them no connection whatsoever, and further denies that the bands of prophets, mentioned in I Samuel and elsewhere, were ecstatics. After a consideration and rejection of any possible analogy between the inspiration of the poet and the prophet, he passes to an analysis of the experience of the latter, showing that he remained conscious of his own individuality, that the revelation he received had to do with the historical situation then obtaining, that God was apprehended as personal Reality, and that the purpose of the revelation was its communication to others. It was a revelation, not of God in his absolute being, but rather of his feeling (*Pathos*), of his relation to the world, and of his reaction to human conduct. In this emotion the prophet shared, hence his use of the first person in his oracles. This thesis is presented in a closely reasoned argument, and is supported by a wealth of citations from the prophetic literature.

One cannot but be grateful to the author for his strong insistence upon the divine initiative, upon the personality of God, and upon the uniqueness of the experience of the great Hebrew prophets. This gratitude, however, must not be allowed to obscure certain serious defects in his work. His argument against the ecstatic character of the bands of prophets, the *nebi'im*, is a piece of special pleading which cannot go unchallenged; it ignores the use, in I Samuel 18: 10, of the verb *nab'a* (from the same root as the word for "prophet") to describe Saul's maniacal raving before his attack upon David; it ignores the story—the lateness of which is irrelevant in this connection—in I Samuel 19: 22ff, of Saul's frenzy when prophesying before Samuel, so that "he stripped off his clothes . . . and lay down naked all that day and all that night. Wherefore they say, Is Saul also among the prophets?" The ecstatic character of these early prophets cannot therefore be denied, and this, in view of the stories of Micaiah the son of Imlah (I Kings 22), and of Elijah, and of the dialogue between Amos and the priest of Bethel (Amos 7: 10ff), to mention only three items of evidence, compels the recognition of an ecstatic element in the experience of the great prophets. Mr Heschel's denial of this would seem to be due to a failure to distinguish between ecstasy and ecstacy, between the self-centered desire for and enjoyment of the experience for its own sake on the one hand, and, on the other, the response of a highly emotional temperament to the dynamic power of God. It is significant that he is prone to minimize the fact of the prophet's response to the divine call, and thus tends to stress the discontinuity of prophecy with the past. This same tendency manifests itself again in his denial that the marriage symbolism employed by Hosea had any connection with baalism. His distrust of ecstacy and his horror of the practices of the fertility cult seem to have led him to the implicit position that it was beyond the power of God to lay hold upon and to transform already existing phenomena; they were beyond redemption.

The statement that God revealed himself to the prophets only in his relation to the world is not entirely accurate. It overlooks the opening verses of the account of the vision of Isaiah, for instance, and also numerous passages in which the Deutero-Isaiah is clearly endeavoring, within the limits of his language, to represent God in his absolute being. Again, one wonders whether due regard has been given to the implications of such an idea as the "disillusionment" of God.

It would, however, be unjust to close on the note of criticism, for, despite these and other inadequacies, the book will repay careful study. There can be no true understanding of the prophets apart from theism, and of this the author has given us a most stimulating presentation.

CUTHBERT A. SIMPSON.

Hesekiel. By Alfred Bertholet. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1936, pp. xxii + 171. M. 8.10.

This commentary, which forms a unit of the first series of the *Handbuch zum Alten Testament* edited by Professor Otto Eissfeldt, is an entirely new piece of work, in which the author has hardly left "one stone upon another"

of his first commentary (1897). With characteristic modesty he gives his own attempt at solving the manifold questions raised by the Book of Ezekiel, which, he thinks, may without exaggeration be said to be the most problematic (for the moment) of the entire Old Testament canon.

Ezekiel, he believes, uttered oracles in three places: (1) in Jerusalem before its fall, (2) in some city not far from Jerusalem, the "other place" of 12:3ff, (3) among the exiles in Babylonia. He was called twice; first to his Jerusalem ministry, by the vision of the roll (2:9ff) in the fifth year of Jehoiachin's deportation, 593 (1:2); and again to his ministry in Babylonia, by the vision of the chariot-throne (1:4ff) in the thirteenth (as the author reads the "thirtieth") year, 585, (1:1).

This theory, the author thinks, meets the demand that many oracles should be placed in Jerusalem; it explains how, being in a city of Judah, Ezekiel could hear of Jerusalem's fall on the same day (33:21); and it accounts for the change of his message from doom to promise, since the latter was what the exiles needed after 586. The circumstances of his going to Babylonia are not given, but the author sees indications that he went unwillingly, that he did not feel himself a member of the *golah*, and that he never acquired the "Babylonian heart" which has been attributed to him.

The author sees two good results obtained by his thesis: (1) Ezekiel is relieved of a whole series of "psychic" traits such as clairvoyance, though he remains a man given to visions. (2) His oracles concerning Jerusalem become incomparably more immediate, living and convincing, while he himself appears much more like Jeremiah, who strongly influenced him in spite of their difference in personality.

In the detailed carrying out of his thesis in the commentary the author displays the temperateness of critical judgment, the clarity, fairness and sympathy which we have come to associate with his work. It is significant that he attributes the great bulk of the Book to Ezekiel, even in the much assailed chapters 40-48, where Professor Kurt Galling, who has contributed the illuminating treatment of the restored temple, agrees with him.

Such judicious moderation as this commentary represents is refreshing in a field where the departures from conservatism have not always been satisfying. If one may venture a prediction, Ezekiel-criticism, after it has passed through its present state of flux, will probably return to some such solution as this.

FLEMING JAMES.

Königtum Gottes. Vol. I. Das Kommende, Untersuchungen zur Entstehungsgeschichte des messianischen Glaubens. By Martin Buber. Second, enlarged edition. Berlin: Schocken Verlag, 1936, pp. lxi + 293.

Martin Buber, formerly Professor at Frankfurt a. Main, now Professor at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, has greatly enlarged the first edition of his work (1932) with an additional preface of 41 pages along with extensive enlargement of the Notes, which now cover 109 pages. He writes with full conviction of his theme, with enthusiasm, and with a corresponding abandonment to long and intricate periods, at the same time with scrupulous reference

to bibliography and criticism of contrary views. Some of the Notes are considerable essays, as for instance that on Eissfeldt's notable book, *Molk als Opferbegriff*, appearing subsequently to the first edition, to which pp. 211-235 are devoted. It were a desideratum that a full index collated the author's extensive and valuable materialia and references. To the reviewer the method of the book is unfortunate. It opens, as for its text (ch. i), with Gideon's refusal to become king, for "the LORD shall reign over you" (Jud. 8:22ff).

The next chapter proceeds to a discussion of the book of Judges and criticism of the current criticism upon it. And so in the subsequent chapters there occur long critical excursions on literary criticism, often countered by the author's assumptions. It were well if the author had in preface expressed his position on literary criticism and its bearing upon the authentic history involved. In this respect he holds a conservative position, in which today he has many abettors, like Alt, Eissfeldt, Mowinckel, all of whom have breathed a fresh spirit in that critical study.

Buber's theme is that of the unique relation between YHWH and his people, established in the Sinaitic covenant between that God and his people; "outside of the Sinaitic I know of no evidence for such a ceremony between God and man" (p. 112). An element of uniqueness in the origins of Israel's religion is being increasingly recognized, along with admission of historical authenticity in the Pentateuchal records for Moses and his new institutions; e.g. see Sellin in his recent *Israel-jüdische Religionsgeschichte*, ch. i. But I doubt if the discriminating unique note is to be found in the formula "Kingdom of God." Buber discusses parallel "God-King" political theories in the ancient Orient (ch. iii) and the West-Semitic tribal gods (ch. iv), and finds nothing similar to Israel's origins. On pp. 140-142 he presents briefly the parallels with Arabian life, both with the traditional permanent tribal polity, and in the conflict which arose in Islam upon the passing of the Prophet as to who should be his "Successor," a controversy soon settled for the Orthodox by the establishment of the hereditary Caliphate. The books Joshua, Judges, Samuel present the identical conflict in Israel's early history, and the Arabian parallels deserve fuller treatment. Samuel 8 makes the prophet Samuel hold the old view of the theocratic institution, but according to ch. 9 YHWH himself corrects the prophet and directs him to anoint Saul as "prince" over his people. At first indeed the word "king" is avoided, "prince" and "leader" are preferred. This is again a conservative trait of political language, such as has survived in Arabia to our own day, the sovereigns of the native states calling themselves *imam* or *emir*. Only recently has the remarkable Abdu l'Aziz of Nejd proclaimed himself "king of Arabia."

Buber's next volume will presumably treat of the rise of the Israelite monarchy—which despite all conservative, "anarchistic" objections was practically inevitable, if Israel were to survive. He is right in this that, despite all the political vicissitudes which Israel experienced, the original constitutional scheme of the theocracy survived. But there always remains the problem how a theocracy is to be practically administered in "this naughty world"; and here lay the problem of the Christian Church (ideally the Kingdom of God) and of Islam, the community of the Prophet who is next to

Allah. With regard to the term "Kingdom of God," which is Buber's theme, it is interesting to observe that "king" rarely appears as a divine title. An early poem makes YHWH "King in Jeshurun" (Dt. 33:5); in the Song of Moses only the verb is used (Ex. 15:18). The title is most frequent in the Psalms (I count some eight cases); and it is used preferably along with " YHWH Sebaoth," i.e. the cosmic Deity (cf. Zech. 14:9). Indeed the title seems to have been avoided, like Baal, because of its common pagan use; e.g. in the Ras Shamra tablets the chief deity Il has "king" as current title. And the same is true of the element in Hebrew proper names. Despite these strictures which the reviewer ventures against an attempt to establish a rigorous theory, Buber's book is most stimulating and refreshing.

JAMES A. MONTGOMERY.

The Cambridge Ancient History. Vol. XI. *The Imperial Peace, A.D. 70-192.* Ed. by S. A. Cook, F. E. Adcock, and M. P. Charlesworth. Cambridge University Press. New York: Macmillan, 1936, pp. xxvii + 997 + 21 maps, plates and tables. \$10.50.

This is the book we have been waiting for! It recounts the origin and rise of Christianity, (ch. vii) 'The Rise of Christianity' by B. H. Streeter. The principle followed in the *Cambridge Ancient History* is to describe the origin and early history of any movement, people, or nation only when it has emerged upon the stage of world history. For this reason the early history of Christianity is introduced between the chapters on Trajan and Hadrian.

The new volume opens with a fascinating account of the Flavian Dynasty by M. P. Charlesworth. There are excellent character-sketches of Vespasian, Titus and Domitian. The student of the New Testament and of early Christianity will gain from this chapter a better view of what the events in secular history presupposed by the New Testament looked like from the outside. The Flavian dynasty marked the beginning of an era of good feeling in Roman history. It is "a happier period: the glitter and extravagance of life under the Julio-Claudians vanish, and Roman history becomes in growing measure the story not of a court, but of the peoples inhabiting a vast empire and learning to enjoy a common civilization" (p. 3). The problems left by his predecessors involved complete reorganization of the empire by Vespasian. The most urgent matter was 'to allay panic and to restore confidence to a distressed world.' Perhaps it is for this reason that Vespasian let himself be looked upon in the East as a worker of miracles. The revenues of the empire had increased amazingly during a century of peace and security. Financial figures in ancient history are of course notoriously untrustworthy—so the extraordinary figures are accounted for on the supposition (p. 14) that Vespasian meant to establish a capital fund which should produce a yearly income, and that the forty billion sesterces with which his budget is credited was intended largely for this purpose. At any rate, it is quite clear that the economic background of early Christianity, at least after 70 A.D., was not an era of poverty and distress, but rather one of widespread prosperity and comfort, if not opulence. It was a tragedy that the characters of Vespasian's two sons were not equal to that of

their father, and with Domitian the old tale of intrigue and tyranny is taken up once more.

In chapter ii, Ekholm and Alföldi sketch the origins of the northern peoples: on the basis of current archaeology they press the theory of the Scandinavian origin of the Germanic peoples and culture. Rostovtzeff follows this with a chapter on the Sarmatae and Parthians—a brilliant account of the latter, who are both politically and economically of great importance for the eastern provinces, and not without influence upon both Judaism and early eastern Christianity. In the following chapter the Flavian wars and frontiers are treated by R. Syme. Throughout the *Cambridge Ancient History* great attention is paid to the armies—and for the very best of reasons, considering their social and political importance. Nerva and Trajan are the subject of ch. v, where again one gains a vivid picture of life, chiefly in Rome and in Italy, at the turn of the century. R. P. Longden also writes chapter vi, which is on the wars of Trajan, brilliantly successful along the Danube, but a tragic fiasco in the East. 'Not for the first time, the Roman Armies advanced too fast and too far' (p. 248). Trajan was really a great man. The Emperor Julian was not wrong when he described the gods as conferring upon Trajan most conspicuously the gift of clemency (our New Testament *praotês*). Like many another emperor described in this volume, he looked upon himself as a servant of the commonwealth.

Canon Streeter's chapter on the rise of Christianity is as fresh and brilliant as are most of his writings. It is a very compact chapter (only forty-two pages) but it is one that no New Testament student should miss. It begins with a brief account of the sudden rise and expansion of the Christian religion: "Already within a century and a half of the Crucifixion it had become in essential features an ecclesiastical State—with a culture fundamentally different from, and in certain ways inimical to, that inherited by the Empire from the city-states of Greece and Rome." Its early history passed through two periods. "For three-quarters of a century there is intense vitality and experiment, expressing itself in an ever-increasing variety. Then follows a time of conservation and consolidation, during which the main task of the leaders was to restore a coherence which was threatened by the legacy of diversity left by the earlier and more creative period" (p. 253). The New Testament is the literary deposit for the most part of the earlier of these two periods; the second finds its culminating expression about A.D. 186 in the work of Irenaeus *Against Heresies*.

This is followed by a succinct survey of the evidence, Roman, Jewish and Christian, a kind of thumb-nail Introduction to the New Testament and Apostolic Fathers. Section iv, 'The Fire from Heaven,' describes the mission of Jesus and the spiritual experiences which followed the disciples' fellowship with him and the resurrection appearances after his death. The author takes a characteristically non-committal attitude toward Form Criticism—admitting that its efforts are 'often suggestive' but 'always precarious and sometimes perverse.' However, he adds (p. 260 n.), "This chapter . . . has been so planned that, even if the contrary were the case, it would not require to be rewritten." There is more encouragement in that, for a Form critic, than the author

realizes! Streeter admits that some, at any rate, of the sayings contained in the Gospels were originally 'the utterances of inspired Christian prophets.' It became an everyday event for some Christian to stand forth in the community as a prophet; but instead of beginning, 'Thus saith the Lord,' his message was given as directly inspired by the Spirit of Christ (p. 267).

The new situation introduced by the Fall of Jerusalem in the year 70 is described in section v. Brief as it is, the account of the various tendencies within Jewish and Gentile Christianity is clear and memorable. It is, however, the section following, 'Varieties of Experience and Belief,' that forms the great main contribution of this chapter. Here Canon Streeter sketches out the seven main types of religious thought which may be identified and isolated in the New Testament. They are like seven panels, and although their distinctiveness may be exaggerated, it is only perhaps through a certain amount of exaggeration that we are enabled to recognize their types. The seven are the following: (1) Christ the vanquisher of the demons and Christianity a power victorious over all malignant spiritual forces. (2) Christ the Messiah who is about to return and set up the Kingdom of God. (3) The religion of Paul—'a Christo-centric mysticism'—a mysticism so intense that 'Paul seems to have felt small necessity to represent it in philosophical terms'; it is a type of faith similar to Indian *bhakti*. (4) The Lucan type: Christian life 'in the Spirit' and free from its Jewish limitations, and the death of Christ a subject for apologetics rather than dogmatics. (5) The Epistle to the Hebrews, Philonic in theology—but its theology 'lifted to the level of religious adoration, as in the *Confessions* of Augustine.' (6) The Fourth Gospel, with the Logos-Christology; (7) Finally, the view of the Epistle of Jude, the epigone of an earlier and greater generation. These are roughly the seven main theologies of the New Testament, seven avenues of approach to the one Christ, seven systems of thought setting forth the implication of the great central experience which was the heart of primitive Christianity, seven avenues of expression of the new life which streamed into the world under the influence of Jesus Christ. To many readers this will be a most revealing chapter: the modern New Testament critic does not look upon Christianity even within the covers of the New Testament as one unitary, static, homogeneous product, but rather, so to speak, as seven streams of on-going intellectual and spiritual life. It is good to find such a chapter in a great historical work like the C. A. H., and Canon Streeter worthily represents the best of contemporary New Testament scholarship.

The concluding section vii is entitled 'Prophet, Presbyter and Bishop.' It sums up briefly Streeter's view on early Christian organization set forth at greater length in his volume *The Primitive Church* and elsewhere.

Chapter viii deals with Hadrian and the problem of empire. This problem was largely that of consolidation, achieved at home by the development of a bureaucracy and achieved on the frontiers by a military policy of consistent defense. The author of the chapter, Wilhelm Weber of Berlin, may possibly be suspected of Nazi sympathies when he insists (p. 313) that even in his most serious war, that against the Jews, Hadrian was in essence purely on the defensive. He was 'surely justified in taking drastic and relentless measures.' No doubt the Jews were a hard nation to govern. They had inherited from

their desert-ancestry a love of freedom which after a thousand years of settled agricultural and urban life left them restive under the yoke of a foreign power. Great as were the losses on both sides it is probably an exaggeration to refer (p. 314) to the 'extirpation' of the fanatical race. True, Jerusalem was destroyed and a pagan city built on its foundations, and no Jews were permitted to come within sight of the ruins of Jerusalem; nevertheless Judaism was reorganized and carried on a vigorous life upon the coastal plain and in the north.

Professor Weber also writes the following chapter on the Antonines. Hugh Last writes the chapter on the Principate and the Administration; also the chapter (xi) on Rome and the Empire. This important chapter is followed by chapters on the provinces; while the concluding chapters (xvii-xxi) deal with literature, philosophy, science, social life, art and law. Each one of these chapters is a little monograph written by a recognized authority and summing up briefly and clearly present-day knowledge and discussion. Among other good things is the fascinating account of the younger Pliny and his young wife Calpurnia (p. 754)—a fascinating subject for a poem which some student of ancient history may pause at this point to write! Incidentally, it is a touching bit of evidence to disprove the popular idea that home-life in the pagan world was everywhere cruel and debased.

All in all, the *Cambridge Ancient History* is not only a store-house of critically sifted information and of proved facts; it is also a demonstration on a large scale, and, for the student who reads seriously, an inductive discipline in the science of modern historical research. The student who works his way through these volumes will have gained not only an impressive panoramic view of the past but will also have learned much about the methods pursued by many of our best contemporary historians as they go about their task of criticism, analysis and reconstruction. It is no small tribute to the vitality of scholarship in the English-speaking world that this great series and its parallel, the *Cambridge Mediaeval History*, have been published steadily through the period of 'the great depression'; and it is certainly reassuring to a modern student, aware of the fact that our times are somewhat 'out of joint,' to turn to this story of the ancient past. It helps one to realize that in spite of turmoil and distress and the never-ending series of wars, in spite of social conflict, tumult and the rivalry of nations and individuals, mankind has steadily progressed. And if modern man does not seem to have emerged much beyond the level of his ancestors twenty or thirty centuries ago, this is only further evidence of the truth of Goethe's profound saying: 'Mankind is always advancing; man remains ever the same.'

FREDERICK C. GRANT.

Early Christian Life as Reflected in its Literature. By Donald Wayne Riddle. Willett, Clark and Co., 1936, pp. ix + 256. \$2.50.

It was high time for such a summary study as Dr Riddle has undertaken. Von Dobschütz' admirable *Christian Life in the Primitive Church* (English translation, 1904), needs a successor, in which newer techniques and viewpoints

supplement that excellent study of the moral teachings of the literature, with its scholarly endeavor to pierce through the teachings to the practice, and to display the life of the early congregations. Particularly, the daring reconstructions in the name of *Formgeschichte* open up new vistas through the gospels; while the cultural emphasis synonymous with Chicago leads us to expect much aid in our endeavor to see through the documents to the lives of our Gentile Christian predecessors against the background of their society. It is an extraordinarily difficult and delicate research, and perhaps, although we welcome a summary of it, a really convincing and three-dimensional reconstruction of early Christian life must await a generation of special studies. Disappointment over the present volume is perhaps unreasonable; but the reviewer must confess to feeling it strongly.

In the first place, the brevity of the text has prevented adequate presentation of the different types of Christian life revealed in the very varied literature. And the inclusion of a good deal of literary criticism—the necessity of much of which seems doubtful—has still further contracted the exposition of the theme of the title. To be sure, the use made of the gospels in particular needs for its justification a confidence as complete as the author's in the newest form-critical hypotheses. But the account of Form Criticism and discussion of sources and evangelists' interests are so considerable that the two chapters given to the gospels fail to meet the challenge of the title of the book.

In these chapters the reader might well expect to find a brief but systematic discussion of the criteria by which the author distinguishes between gospel materials reliable for our knowledge of Jesus, those which reveal the creative powers of Jewish Christian leaders and reflect the life of their communities, and those which we owe to Hellenistic communities. But while in the "sayings the theme of which is the bearing of the believer in situations of persecution" the author declares "that the experiences of the missionaries are the ultimate basis of the teachings" (p. 81), and elsewhere language is used which reduces to a minimum the contributions of Jesus to the tradition, he plainly does not deny that contribution, yet leaves his reader uncertain what it is. And such a statement as this: "The gospel traditions had their beginnings in this (the Pauline) period" (p. 48), is only one of those which would lead the reader to suppose that Dr Riddle has no need of the hypothesis that the gospels contain anything really coming from Jesus.

The reviewer does not understand why the author considers that the term "the teachings of Jesus" implies "a modern interest which was foreign to the gospel writers" (p. 72). The gospels certainly refer often to Jesus as 'teaching,' all four of the canonical writers use the title 'teacher' in referring to him, and the title 'Didache' is hardly modern. Similarly the author protests against the term 'the conversion' of Paul, since "he was not converted from something to something else. He never abandoned Judaism, nor does he seem to have regarded his new life as in any sense separated from Judaism" (p. 19). Surely 'conversion' does not mean only the abandoning of one religion for another, and there seems to the reviewer more truth in the well-known saying that St Paul was the only man ever really converted than in Dr Riddle's protest. Later in the book we find the Jews of Col. 4:10-11 described as

"converts from Judaism" (p. 59), an obvious inconsistency. Another and much more serious one is the apparently haphazard use and omission of references to chapter and verse, a real defect except for readers with better memories than the reviewer.

For all his dissent and questioning, the reviewer finds real value in the author's execution of his endeavor, so difficult in the present stage of 'social' study of the early Christian literature. He hopes that a second edition will be greatly enlarged, that the problems of literary introduction will be in the notes instead of the text, and above all that room will be found for the exposition of what von Dobschütz set forth over thirty years ago in his volume, but from a newer viewpoint, especially in the use of materials from the gospels. Then we should see more clearly 'early Christian life as reflected in its literature.'

N. B. NASH.

St Mark's Gospel: Two Stages of Its Making. By J. M. C. Crum. Cambridge: Heffer, 1936, pp. vii + 145. 6s.

Canon Crum attempts a novel and in many ways attractive separation of possible sources in Mark. He believes that the work consists of an early gospel, written possibly by John Mark on the basis of Peter's reminiscences any time between 30 and 60 A.D. It is less theological than our Mark, but nevertheless a true gospel with a consistent system. This he calls Mark I. About 65, a later Christian, much influenced by St Paul and highly theological-minded, reworked the basic document, and added interpretations of the old material and much that is new. This is Mark II. Among his sources are old stories of the Lord, cognate to those in Mark I, and the document Q. He also uses the Septuagint largely in reconstructing scenes, sayings, and interpretations.

This Urmarkus theory is quite different from those that have gone before. Urmarkus is quite short, though its reconstruction takes up twelve average-sized pages in the volume. Assuming that by Mark I, Crum means largely "Petrine" material, he is much more lavish in assigning material to Peter than either Dean Grant or the late Professor Bacon. But he agrees with both in finding large Petrine elements in chh. 1, 2, and 14, and most of what Professor Bacon assigns to Peter he includes in Mark I. In his assignment of material to Q, he is much more conservative than Bacon, who was dominated by the notion that Q was a complete gospel. He appeals to Q about as much as Dean Grant, though he often differs on what passages are to be assigned. Yet all three scholars have a large measure of agreement.

He points out that Mark I (and Mark II when using old stories) uses the words *rabbi*, *didaskalos*, and *mathetes*, while Mark II prefers Lord, apostles, and Son of Man. In this one is reminded of Eduard Meyer's theory. Most of what Meyer regarded as *Jüngerquelle* he assigns to Mark I or Mark II's old source material; but he would divide Meyer's *Zwölferquelle* about evenly between the two evangelists.

If one analyzes "Mark I" from the point of view of form criticism, one finds a preponderance of "paradigms" or "apophthegms" with relatively few

of the sayings or miraculous stories. This is very early material, no doubt. The question is whether at this early date a passion narrative is added and a complete gospel produced. One is inclined to question the author's separation of Mark I's editorial framework from that of the later evangelist. The result is quite smooth but at times it seems arbitrary. One questions also Canon Crum's inclusion of 5: 25-34; 9: 11-13; and 10: 32, which seem rather to reflect the viewpoint of the final redactor.

One strong point of the work is its recognition of the method by which the gospel, down to 8: 22, is schematized into six ideal days of action. This forms partly an allegory of the spread of Christianity. Canon Crum has a clear view of the function of Mark in the church for which it is written. His recognition of Septuagint influence will be of permanent value, as will his reopening of the question of Marcan sources. One must, however, dissent from his emphasis on Pauline influence and his contention that Mark 13 is no original part of the gospel written in the sixties but is a later interpolation. If there was a "Mark II," he included the Little Apocalypse.

SHERMAN E. JOHNSON.

Jesus' Jerusalem Expedition. By Victor E. Harlow. Oklahoma City: Harlow Pub. Co., 1936, pp. xii + 110. \$2.00.

In his new volume, Mr Harlow supplements and reinforces the argument of his earlier *Jesus the Man* (1924). Briefly stated, that argument is: "The story of Jesus of Nazareth is essentially the chronicle of a Messianic episode." Unlike similar episodes in the last days of the Jewish commonwealth, Jesus alone—according to the current interpretation—was purely a prophet, a preacher of ethics and religion, rather than a popular leader. But this current interpretation is wrong. By isolating the narrative material in the Gospels from the didactic it appears that

"the story as told in the gospels discloses with marked clearness the fact that Jesus did assume, in at least some degree, those characteristics of the Messiah essential in the current expectation. It is reasonably clear that he did assemble a great number of followers, and that his relation to them was recognized to be that of a leadership closely approximating military authority; that he led this multitude to Jerusalem and at their head entered the City in Messianic manner; that in Jerusalem itself he attempted to exercise supreme authority, and was for a day actually in physical control of the Temple from which he had displaced the usual authorities, and that he clearly claimed to be the King of the Jews; and that he was convicted and put to death as an insurrectionist, a false claimant of authority" (p. ix).

The origin of the 'current' interpretation is explained as due not only to the rise of a theological outlook in the early church, chiefly the work of Paul and John, but also to the destruction of most of the early Mss of the Gospels during the persecution under Diocletian; after which, the restored text of Lucian had to depend very largely upon 'Western' texts, including the Old Latin (D is in part a retranslation of the Old Latin into Greek, in part the result of the scribe's memory of the other Gk. Mss, now destroyed. Fortunately, B and Aleph preserved, in Egypt, a purer text, based upon the literary researches

of their editors.) The essays in this volume are chiefly devoted to the discussion of readings which bear upon Mr Harlow's thesis.

In the first two essays, 'Who Accompanied Jesus to Jerusalem,' and 'The Story in the Gospels,' the argument would have been more secure had the author taken into account the objection that much of the narrative material upon which he relies is purely editorial, in the Gospels as we now have them; how far it corresponds to earlier tradition, and how far it reflects the somewhat conventional views of gospel writers, is a question that receives no attention.

Jesus' words to Peter, 'Get thee behind me, Satan,' receive a curious translation: 'Come, follow me.' 'Satan,' which is 'inexplicable as an epithet applied to Simon' (p. 29), is interpreted as 'adversary, trouble-maker.' The thesis is argued with great ability and wide learning. But one finishes the chapter with an impression that the verdict must be 'Not proven.' Mark himself uses the verb elsewhere, e.g. in 6:31, where it is clearly an antonym to 'coming': "Many were coming—*erchomenoi*—and going—*hupagontes*."

Essay iv, on Matt. 17:22, argues in support of Moffatt's translation: 'When his adherents mustered in Galilee.' The task is the easier if one accepts the thesis of a neutral text; and the author displays extraordinary skill in accounting for the chief alternative reading. But he does not account for the Marcan reading, which is prior to Matthew and the one upon which Matt. is presumably based—Mark contains no hint of 'mustering.' In other words, as Form Criticism complicates the author's problem in chh. i-ii, so Source Criticism complicates it here. The author has not faced these further problems.

Mark's *ethambounto* (10:32) is the subject of ch. v. The author pays his respects to Wrede, Swete, Loisy, and Turner, finds partial agreement with some of them, but more with Burkitt, and concludes that Jesus' large and increasing band of followers were under a growing apprehension of their personal danger as they neared Jerusalem, especially after a Samaritan town had closed its doors to them. Jesus intended no revolt against the Romans; what he meant to do was to confront the religious authorities in Jerusalem with his proclamation of the approach of the Kingdom, and to dispossess, if possible, the hierarchy and their satellites from the temple. But such a program involved dangers enough, as he clearly foresaw from Caesarea Philippi onward. Now his followers began to sense it, and the more strongly the farther they got from Galilee.—But is this what the verse meant to Mark? Did he conceive that Jesus went to Jerusalem to start a revolution, even in the religious sense described on p. 64? Or, if Mark was unaware of it, did the tradition he used, in the editorial passage under consideration, unequivocally reflect this view?

It will be clear to most readers, by this time, that the author has aligned himself with Bacon, Burkitt, Eisler, and Schweitzer in portraying the march on Jerusalem as a definite attempt to capture the city for his eschatological gospel—the agreement with Eisler breaking off at the point where the latter argues for an intended insurrection against Rome; his agreement with Schweitzer extending up to the limits of Schweitzer's 'thorough-going' eschatology, but going beyond him in assuming an overt attempt to seize the religious headquarters of the nation. We are not convinced by all Mr Harlow's

arguments; but his main thesis, like that of Burkitt, Bacon, and even Eisler, does rest upon data which are very deeply embedded in the evangelic tradition, data which simply cannot be ignored in any reconstruction or interpretation of the Life of Jesus. After all, the inscription on the cross is not editorial; there is no explaining it away: and it carries a lot with it.

Ch. vii, on Luke 23:15, is a convincing interpretation of the phrase *all' ou de Hêrôdês*: 'But not (indeed) Herod.' I am inclined to think Mr Harlow has proved his case at this point. Jesus would have been acquitted had Pilate not blundered in remanding him to Antipas. (Harlow's argument could be still further strengthened by appealing to the *oun* at the end of the verse.) Pilate supposed Herod would, as Jesus' lawful prince, take him under his protection (p. 83). To his great surprise, Herod sent him back garbed as an imposter.—One drawback to this argument is the fact that Herod, knowing that Pilate was for acquitting Jesus, had only to turn him over to the mob, rather than send him back to the procurator. Why he did not, can only be conjectured. Did he prefer the Roman to assume responsibility for Jesus' death? The argument presupposes a good deal of concern for the proprieties between Pilate and Herod, which, however, Luke perhaps explains in his reference to their broken and now renewed friendship. (Though how they should become friends once more on the basis of a prisoner sent back convicted, whom Pilate wished to release, is still another problem.)

The final essay, *Heteroi kakourgoi duô*, argues that these were followers of Jesus. Possibly; on the other hand, it is surely inconceivable that the Christian tradition should ignore them, if they were followers of Jesus, crucified with him (what greater honor could any martyrs possibly have?)—and not even attempt to name them. True, the Old Latin Ms I calls them Joathas et Maggetras; but other figures were surely nearer at hand—whoever J. and M. may have been! There were Alexander and Rufus, for example, whose father the guard compelled to bear Jesus' cross to Calvary.

FREDERICK C. GRANT.

Der Brief an die Hebräer. By Otto Michel. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1936, pp. 239. M. 11:25 (bound).

To our present general knowledge of Hebrews—as represented, e.g., by Moffatt, Rignenbach, and Windisch—Licentiate Michel has not a great deal to add; it is surprising to find a "Meyer" volume that discusses detailed exegesis and textual criticism so briefly. On the other hand it may be urged that today there is perhaps more general agreement about Hebrews than any other New Testament writing and that there is little purpose in flogging dead horses; Mr Michel simply takes accepted results for granted. His special contribution has been the recovery of the deep religious conviction that underlies the writing, whose author, he holds, was above all else a *pastor*. The commentary consequently has a religious warmth that does not hesitate to desert the first century for the twentieth; to let exegesis run into practical exposition, almost into downright homiletics. This is another novelty in a "Meyer" volume.

Mr Michel, of course, agrees with everyone else that Hebrews is a sermon,

written ca. A.D. 90. He finds the audience in some Italian congregation outside of Rome, although "the content of the message is more important to the author than the situation from which and to which he speaks" (page 11). He assumes—perhaps too hastily—that the author was a Jew. He belonged, however, to Hellenistic Judaism, not Palestinian, and some of the most interesting parts of the book are those that reconstruct the background of such Judaism. And it was the thought of this Judaism, built on the Septuagint, that influenced Hebrews far more than did Philo, who moved in an entirely different thought-world. Novel exegetical contentions are few and unimportant. Mr Michel confesses his inability to explain the plural "baptisms" in vi. 2. He feels that no solution of the tangle in xiii. 10 is satisfactory, but inclines toward the eucharistic theory. Christ is addressed as "God" in i. 8. "Man" in ii. 6 is "Christ" (alone). In ix. 4 we should translate "censer," not "altar of incense"; a contention justified at length on pages 225–226. There are some excellent excursions, two of which testify to the revival in Germany of intense interest in Luther's own teaching.

Mr Michel evidently cannot read English.

BURTON SCOTT EASTON.

John Defends the Gospel. By Ernest Cadman Colwell. Chicago: Willett, Clark, 1936, pp. 173. \$1.50.

Dr Colwell finds the key to the Fourth Gospel in the social and economic conditions of its first readers. It is an apologetic for Christianity, addressed to a group possessing a little money and a little culture; good citizens who hated revolutionaries, magicians and Jews. But in particular these readers prided themselves on their good character; it is for this reason that the Gospel makes no reference to sinners and depicts Jesus' disciples as reputable persons. In other words Dr Colwell pictures the Johannine community much like some well-to-do "suburban" parish of the present day, with such a parish's outlook and interests.

But there were no such parishes in the second century; if any worthy Greek bourgeois had been converted by reading the Gospel as Dr Colwell takes it, he was in for a rude awakening after his baptism. "Respectable" Christians there no doubt were, but they were almost submerged by the extremely poor and even by slaves; men whose past was far from edifying as everyone knew perfectly well. What Dr Colwell has missed is that the Evangelist did not write as a propagandist but as a pastor, who regarded his flock as God's elect. They were not on the way to salvation; they had already passed out of death into life and to them "death" and "judgment" were meaningless terms. So what they had been before their conversion was no longer of the slightest consequence; all that had been forgotten. When read this way, the Gospel takes on an entirely different meaning.

Not that the Gospel is free from more realistic touches. The Evangelist realizes perfectly well that his people are not always intelligent; he depicts them constantly in the guise of the apostles, whose questions are usually futile if not actually stupid. Indeed, he rather deprecates too much intelligence.

Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea are drawn to Jesus, as Dr Colwell notes, but they never really come to him; and the third chapter is largely a dissertation on human speculation as an obstacle to faith. The perfect convert in the Fourth Gospel is the man born blind; but he is also the perfect example of the proletarian refuting the intelligentsia.

Without entering into other aspects of Dr Colwell's thesis a word may be said on its anti-Semitism. This does not come from any consciousness of race superiority but on the life and death battle that was being waged between church and synagogue; the best commentary on the savagery of chapter viii is the Martyrdom of Polycarp.

BURTON SCOTT EASTON.

Polycarp's Two Epistles to the Philippians. By P. N. Harrison. Cambridge University Press, 1936, pp. xii + 356. 21s. (\$7.50.)

A good book has been defined as a book that is dangerous to existing institutions. This book may not overthrow any institutions, but its thesis, if correct, will compel the revision of most New Testament Introductions and Histories of the Canon. The Epistle of Polycarp is constantly appealed to to prove the use of a New Testament book before the death of Trajan (117 A.D.), but Dr Harrison argues for c. 135 as the date of Polycarp, sections i-xii, and from the point of view of New Testament Introduction, twenty years in the first half of the first century makes a considerable difference. In McNeile's excellent *Introduction*, for example, there are some seventeen references to Polycarp, and most of these would be affected by the new date, for all the New Testament quotations or 'echoes' occur in sections i-xii of Polycarp. Similarly when Jülicher in his *Introduction* (p. 180, English translation) says, 'The earliest certain use of them (The Pastorals) is by Polycarp of Smyrna,' the statement does not mean so much if Polycarp wrote in 135 and not in 115.

The argument, in brief, is that the Epistle of Polycarp is two letters: one, sections xiii and perhaps xiv, being the brief covering note sent with the Ignatian letters while Ignatius was still en route to Rome, the other, sections i-xii, a letter sent to Philippi about 135 to put the church on its guard against Marcion and to ward off certain other dangers. To the instances of combinations of different documents given in chapter iii there might be added the one in the *Book of Armagh*, where a section from the life of St Basil of Caesarea is inserted in the life of St Patrick. This is the more curious because Celtic scribes took especial pride in their work.

The case for the division of Polycarp's letter is in itself a very strong one: Ignatius is certainly dead in sections i-xii and almost certainly alive in section xiii; the identification of the heretic of section vii with Marcion is nearly complete and if Marcion, then the section is after 130, but not long after, for it is Marcion, so to speak, before he became a Marcionite, that is before he met Cerdo in Rome. If a thesis is proved when no alternative solution is possible, it is hardly an exaggeration to say that the author's thesis is proved and therefore that period of early Church History which 'goes through a tunnel' has now a light set in the middle of the tunnel. Polycarp (69-155) knew the an-

swers to almost all the questions which occupy New Testament students; anything therefore which clarifies his brief 'literary remains' is important. Dr Harrison does not write a book until he has something to say worth saying (may his tribe increase!) and if further editions of this book are called for, a reproduction of the whole Latin version of Polycarp should be included, for the methods, even the morals of the Latin translator have some bearing on the problem at issue. Even Lightfoot does not provide this in his famous volumes.

Some chapter headings will sufficiently indicate that this book includes many matters besides the integrity of Polycarp's epistle, e.g. 'The Letters of Ignatius,' 'The False Teachers at Philippi,' 'Date of Ignatius's Martyrdom,' 'Ignatius and the New Testament,' a chapter which contains an interesting theory about the origin of St John's Gospel.

A. H. FORSTER.

PRAKSEIS PAULOU; *Acta Pauli. Nach dem Papyrus der Hamburger Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek.* Unter Mitarbeit von Wilhelm Schubart, herausgegeben von Carl Schmidt. Mit 12 Tafeln. Hamburg and Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1936, pp. viii + 132. RM. 8. Bo., 10.

The Greek text of the Acts of Paul in the Hamburg papyrus, although it has been known to exist for some seven years, has only just been edited. And delay in its appearance is justified by the care with which research on it has been prosecuted; the edition will be, however, hailed with satisfaction, for it presents materials for this aspect of the study of Christian literature which are of great importance.

Quite a number of years ago Professor Krüger, of Giessen, prophesied that some day texts of the story of the unknown elements in the Acts of Paul would come to light. Jerome had referred to the lion which Paul baptized, and Commodianus had added the feature that in their adventure the lion had talked. In 1901 Professor Goodspeed, of the University of Chicago, found this very story in the Ethiopic *Letter of Pelagia*; he edited it, and republished it in his *Ethiopic Acts of Martyrdom* in 1931. Now, for the first time, the Greek text of substantially the same story has come to light. It is natural, then, that Carl Schmidt, who has already bestowed much of a lifetime on the study of the available fragments of the Acts of Paul, has worked with extreme care on this extensive section of Greek text.

The papyrus is another example of those distinguished manuscripts of early date which have recently come to light. Its date is plus or minus 300. It is written in a good uncial hand; the extensive exhibit of plates enables the student to check Schmidt's work for himself, although it would seem that to do so would be gratuitous. A convenient translation is given. As the story opens, Paul is in Ephesus; Hieronymus, who is mentioned as governor in the resume given by Nicephorus Callisti, is in the story. Paul is exposed to beasts, just as Hippolytus, in his Commentary on Daniel, reported. Two women disciples are also named; one, Artemilla, is also named in the story of Nicephorus. Other details of the story as reported in the various traditions appear: Paul recognizes the lion as one which he had previously baptized, and he and the

lion converse, much to the amazement and fear of the crowd, a hailstorm comes in the protection of which Paul and the lion escape.

Some interesting points appear from certain features of the manuscript as a whole. It is a codex, and originally it contained much more than the Acts of Paul. Of its other contents, part was Ecclesiastes in Greek and in Coptic. Schmidt notes the dialect as old-Fayyumic. The connection of Ethiopic with Coptic Christianity is well known; the fact explains the connection between these Greek Acts of Paul and the Ethiopic version made known by Professor Goodspeed.

It is sufficient to say that Schmidt's work is as well done as he, the master of this field, could do it. It remains for students of early Christian literature to take his materials and make use of them. The editor has, indeed, appended a number of special studies; he raises the very interesting question of the relation between the Acts of Peter and the Acts of Paul. The question arises because it now appears likely that the Acts of Paul is the earlier of the two. And since, for example, there is in this Greek text a version of the famous *Quo vadis* story, the question of priority and the question of relation are important. Indeed, much value for subsequent study should be an immediate result of the appearance of this excellent edition. For attention is now definitely turned to the study of what may be called popular Christianity; it is this, rather than the formal and relatively instructed Christianity of the Church leaders which is reflected in this type of literature. In view of such facts, so extensive and so well edited an addition to our resources should be eagerly received.

DONALD WAYNE RIDDLE.

The Four Gospels of Karahissar. University of Chicago Press. Vol. 1. *History and Text.* By Ernest Cadman Colwell, pp. 15 + 268 + 13 plates. Vol. 2. *The Cycle of Text Illustrations.* By Harold R. Willoughby, pp. 36 + 495 + 137 plates. The two volumes, \$25.00.

This is a companion set to the University of Chicago publication of the Rockefeller-McCormick Manuscript and provides further and even more interesting material for the study of the ecclesiastical text. The Manuscript has an interesting history which Professor Colwell has reconstructed in Vol. 1. It takes us back to the days of Michael VIII Paleologus and Louis IX, king of France and royal crusader. The Manuscript was hastily written for the purpose of presentation to Louis IX, in the hope that Louis would use his influence with the French clergy—to use their influence with the Pope on behalf of Michael and prevent the launching of another Crusade. The date of Michael's Embassy is 1269 A.D. and the gift of the Manuscript (Leningrad 105) apparently accompanied it. "The French clergy gave Michael no comfort; but Louis, who was himself an ardent crusader, insisted that Charles accompany him on a crusade to Tunis. This change in destination gave Michael a breathing spell."

One of the most interesting features of the manuscript is the series of colophons; there are sixty-two of these. Once there were more, but at least five

have been erased. Most of these colophons (46) are records of the veneration of devout pilgrims who "hoped to secure both physical and spiritual advantage from this act of devotion. This worship of the manuscript had a twofold basis. In the first place, the Gospels were the most sacred part of the Christians' sacred book. The superstitious value attached to the Book in this part of the world is shown by Hasluck's statement that the sick often request that the Gospel be read over them but willingly accept the Koran as a substitute. The virtue evidently lies in a sacred book" (p. 33). These—not always in the best Greek—are translated by the editor and are very interesting.

The manuscript is the work of two scribes, one writing 177 folios, the other 38. The second scribe was evidently an apprentice and was a less capable writer than the first one. It is evident that the Four Gospels of Karahissar were produced in a royal and imperial scriptorium. The number of miniatures it contains marks it as the product of a scriptorium capable of producing *objets de luxe*, and was the same workshop which produced the Rockefeller-McCormick New Testament and was evidently one 'with imperial resources.'

In the Gospel of Mark the manuscript agrees closely (from 1:1-6:16) with 330 and 1815, closely resembling von Soden's *B* type of text. From Mark 6:16-9:4a it has a text all its own, fundamentally Byzantine but hard to locate with any detailed accuracy. From 9:4b to the end it agrees closely with Codex 2327. Similar phenomena meet us in the other Gospels. Matthew is more or less of the same quality throughout. It preserves a number of early readings and agrees with certain of von Soden's *I* codices and with Chrysostom's text. An appendix to the volume gives 'Some Criteria for Dating Byzantine New Testament Manuscripts,' with a good bibliography and also a check-list of manuscripts. There is a good index and also a geographical index of manuscripts discussed or referred to in this volume. The volume concludes with several photographic reproductions of the work of various scribes of this and related codices.

Vol. II is *The Cycle of Text Illustrations* by Harold R. Willoughby, with an introduction by Mlle Sirarpie Der Nersessian on Nicean art. Part I deals with the manuscript, gives statistical descriptions of it, summarizes the analysis of the text, its paleography and date, the colophons and their history—all by way of introduction to Part II which deals with the miniatures. These are discussed in detail and are then reproduced at the end of the volume, which concludes with an elaborate bibliographical index.

No library making any pretense of adequate equipment for the study of the New Testament text can afford to be without these two volumes. True, they do not take us back behind the ecclesiastical text; they are not concerned with early codices; but they have an interest all their own quite distinct from that which attaches to the second and third century papyri or the fourth and fifth century codices. They have a place in the history of the text; and we suspect that a student who familiarizes himself with the methods of copyists who produced these later manuscripts will learn something of value to take with him when he begins the study of the older ones.

FREDERICK C. GRANT.

Highways of Christian Doctrine. By Shirley Jackson Case. Chicago: Willett-Clark, 1936, pp. vii + 201. \$2.00.

To traverse nineteen centuries of theology in five hours demands both a high rate of speed and constant restraint. In these Lowell Institute Lectures Dean Case, a skilled conductor, takes us swiftly along the main roads of Christian thought, noting the turns and the shifting scenery through which we pass, pausing briefly to glance at the most significant landmarks and merely pointing out the lesser ones, resolutely resisting the temptation to turn aside to explore alluring side roads and mysterious by-paths. His interest must of necessity be in direction rather than detail, in movements more than in men. The speed is breath-taking; yet at every point one is conscious of trend and change and onward march, always related to the terrain over which we are passing. Dean Case would be the last person to write on the history of doctrine without reference to the social patterns and the total culture which condition its development.

More successfully than in most books the chapter-headings keep to the spirit of the general title: *The Ascent to Philosophy; The March to Imperialism; Tramping Old Trails; Pathways to Freedom; Crossroads in the Modern Scene.*

Against one ill-chosen expression the reviewer must file his protest. On page 63 Dr Case refers to the youthful Augustine's attraction to the "Manichean branch of the Christian Church." Surely, it would be more accurate to call it a *Christianized form of the Manichean religion.*

The bibliography of English titles is somewhat erratic in its inclusions and omissions. Why, for instance, should such an important book as Bigg's *Christian Platonists of Alexandria* be ignored?

P. V. NORWOOD.

God in Patristic Thought. By G. L. Prestige. London: Heinemann, 1936, pp. xxxiii + 318. 12 s. 6 d.

This valuable book, Dr Prestige tells us, is a by-product of his work upon the projected *Lexicon of Patristic Greek* and, consequently, is concerned mainly with the writings of Greek Fathers, whose work "stands as a monument of inspired Christian rationalism" (p. 299). At the same time, there is considerable reference to the contemporary writers of the West.

It supplies a valuable corrective for some ideas which have become common-places of recent thinking; as in its rejection of Harnack's theory (lately reaffirmed by Mackinnon) of the "Hellenization of Christianity," against which Prestige maintains that "the theological development, so far as it relates to the Trinity, [was] a natural and necessary outcome of Christian thought about Christian rudiments" (p. xviii). Quite rightly he shows also the absurdity of "binitarianism" as an interpretation of early Christian thinking: "The Holy Spirit may not be directly called God, but He stands unquestionably on that side of the borderline which belongs to godhead" (p. 87). He also rejects Loofs' attempted whitewashing of Paul of Samosata, who is a "unitarian" (p. 115). His presentation and definition of impassibility, as taught by Greek

Fathers, is also helpful in dealing with the difficulties raised by Mozley and Brasnett; the doctrine does not describe a God Who cannot *feel* (pp. 6 *sqq.*).

These points alone would make the present work of value, but they are incidental; mainly we have to thank the writer for his penetrating study of particular passages and words. This will help to remove various misstatements which have passed into popular use and, all too often, into the writings of theologians: as, e.g., the distinction between the use of *agenetos* and *agennetos*; either term may be correctly applied to God the Father—in this connection they may be simply variant spellings; but “as soon as theology turned from theism to Christology, the spelling *agennetos* raised the most agonising difficulties, and in fact provided one of the main pivots of the Arian heresy” (p. 43). Another example of thorough word study is that of “economy”—practically equalling “providence” (pp. 57–67); also of “hypostasis” (pp. 162–190), and of “homooousion” (ch. x). He sees that thoughtless use of Biblical language was responsible for a good bit of error, and that “theology does not consist in the parrot repetition of Biblical texts, but in rational thought about Biblical data” (p. 153). In arriving at his conclusions he has not confined himself to the well-beaten paths of Patristic writings, but appeals to many unfamiliar writers and to less well-known works of the greater Fathers.

As a whole the work is a refreshing example of purely objective writing, there is no *a priori* theory to sustain; consequently the book becomes an invaluable supplement to the study of the doctrine of God as it was maintained by the Christian thinkers of the period, extending down to the Middle Ages, but mainly earlier than John of Damascus. It merits a place beside the very best of our modern histories of dogma, and goes beyond any of them in the fulness of its treatment of the special subjects with which it deals.

F. H. HALLOCK.

NOTES ON NEW BOOKS

Biblical

The Apocrypha. By R. H. Malden. Oxford University Press, 1936, pp. 95. \$1.50.

A clear and elementary introduction to the Apocrypha, first delivered as a course of lectures at Wells Cathedral last Lent. It makes use of the Revised Version and refers to Oesterley and Box's *Introduction to the Books of the Apocrypha*. It is an excellent book for laymen and beginners. The author holds that the change of political masters had little to do with the progress of religion in Palestine; the change of overlordship at the end of the Persian period 'had probably had even less effect upon the spiritual and intellectual equipment of the Jews of our Lord's day than our capture of Quebec 178 years ago has had upon the French culture and traditions of Lower Canada' (p. 12).

One of the brilliant things in the book is the 'apocalyptic' version of the prosaic summary of the World War on pp. 89f. It sets forth vividly and persuasively not only the contrasts but also the common elements in prose history and imaginative apocalyptic.

F. C. G.

Die Palästina-Literatur. Fünfter Band, Lieferung 1. Ed. by Peter Thomsen. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1936, pp. xi + 224.

The last previous volume appeared in 1927, covering the literature from 1915 to 1924, and Prof. Thomsen's present work will bring this monumental bibliography down to the end of 1934. The first fasciculus covers the general literature, and the historical literature into the Roman-Byzantine period. At least five more fasciculi of the same size would seem to be required. Samplings show completeness and careful accuracy; only an occasional minor mistake is to be noted. The bibliography will be invaluable to scholars in Old Testament and related fields, and will cover a large section of the New Testament field.

S. E. J.

Galiläa und Jerusalem. By Ernst Lohmeyer. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1936, pp. 104. M. 4.88.

A study of the Jerusalemite and Galilean traditions of the Resurrection. It has grown out of the author's work upon the Synoptic Gospels, which he is editing for the Meyer series (10th edition), and forms a kind of prolegomenon to the commentary. For the study leads to a number of conclusions of cardinal importance in the interpretation of the Gospels. The omission of Galilee from the list in Acts 1:8 is to be explained by the hypothesis that Galilee was already *terra Christiana*, as a result of the work of Jesus himself; while Mark 16:7, 'He goeth before you into Galilee,' presupposes that Galilee, not Jerusalem, was to be the center of the Messianic kingdom, the location of the Parousia of

the Son of Man (Jerusalem, on the other hand, was the center of the earlier hope, which Luke shared). The 'Son of Man' eschatology was a northern product—as we may gather from the Book of Enoch; and Galilee (or Decapolis) was the home of Jesus' family after the destruction of Jerusalem—his brethren had accordingly, so Lohmeyer assumes, carried on missionary work there for some time (though James was residing in Jerusalem, and presiding over the church there!).

The thesis is interesting, and emphasizes some factors in the tradition not hitherto sufficiently recognized; but it has its difficulties. If Galilee was *terra Christiana*, how account for the woes upon the Galilean Towns, in Q? And is *proagô* certainly used by Mark in the sense of 'precede' rather than 'lead'? And in view of Luke's geographical terminology, in the Gospel and in Acts both, is it so certain that Galilee is *not* included in Acts 1:8? (He sometimes uses 'Judea' of the whole Jewish-populated territory of Palestine: e.g. Luke 6:17, 7:17, 23:5.)

In view of the scarcity of the historical evidence, it is surely legitimate to indulge in hypothetical reconstruction of the provenance of the tradition; but let it not be forgotten, when all is done, that the hypothesis, brilliant and attractive as it may be, is really speculation, not evidence.

F. C. G.

Handkonkordanz zum Griechischen Neuen Testament. By Otto Schmoller. 6th ed. by Alfred Schmoller. Stuttgart: Priv. Württ. Bibelanstalt, 1931, pp. ix + 510. M. 5.50.

It is unfortunate that this fine manual-size concordance of the Greek New Testament is not better known in this country. It is based upon the Nestle text and has been corrected and improved through a 6th edition, and although it is not as extensive a work as Moulton and Geden, it is extremely useful—and in spite of the present disadvantageous rate of exchange, inexpensive. A great many of the words are given in full—only where an asterisk is inserted is a selection of instances made. Since the vocabulary of the New Testament is not in size that of the classical authors, it follows that some words are used many times over, even disproportionately in some cases. On the other hand these are the words that are relatively less useful in a concordance. What you want in a concordance is the data regarding the uncommon words. Moreover, many of the particles, adverbs, pronouns, etc., are given only in selection; but even many of these are covered in a supplement.

It is to be feared that a certain prejudice exists against the use of the concordance, in this country, perhaps for the reason that so many sermons have been simply thrown together like hash with the help of Cruden. The technical student accordingly has a prejudice against the use of the concordance. On the other hand, a good concordance is simply indispensable if one intends to do accurate work in exegesis or criticism. What the author says in the preface to the present volume is true: "There is more to be learned from the concordance than from many a commentary."

We would like to make this book better known among American students of the New Testament. It is just one more example of the enormous debt

the whole Christian world owes to the famous Bible Society of Württemberg, which has already given us Nestle's New Testament, Rahlfs' Septuagint, and many and many an attractive and reliable edition of Holy Writ in various languages.

F. C. G.

Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament. Ed. by Gerhard Kittel. Vol. iii, 513-640. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1936. RM. 5.80.

Two more installments of Kittel's *Word Book*, from *ekklesia* to *katô*. The work is one of the most constructive undertakings of modern scholarship. Fifty-five German N. T. experts are engaged upon it, under the leadership of Professor Kittel. It is more than a lexicon; it undertakes to set forth the meaning of words, phrases, concepts in relation to the whole world of ideas, Greek, Jewish, Hellenistic, Semitic, of the first century. There is need for such a constructive work. As Professor Dodd said in his Inaugural Lecture at Cambridge, praising this very *Wörterbuch*, it is not enough to inquire 'the meaning and usage of words among the traders and farmers of Hellenistic Egypt, who are the principal authors of the non-literary papyri . . . [these are recognized and used by the editors, but] in order really to understand the terms employed by the writers of the N. T., we must consider them as they appear within that specific movement of the spirit of man which is early Christianity' (p. 17).

F. C. G.

Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch. By Walter Bauer. 3rd ed. Lfgn 9-10. Berlin: Töpelmann, 1936, coll. 1281-1490 + xi. M. 2.80.

The new edition of Bauer's *Lexicon* is out on record time. Preceding installments have already been noted in these pages. It suffices to say in conclusion that in type, format, and contents the new edition is superior to both of its predecessors; the work is of course indispensable to everyone who studies the New Testament with any seriousness.

F. C. G.

Pentateuch and Haftorahs. Ed. by the Chief Rabbi (J. H. Hertz). *Deuteronomy*. Pp. xvi + 619. Oxford Univ. Press, 1936. \$3.00.

Dr Hertz's edition of Pentateuch and Haftorahs in five volumes, including Hebrew text, English translation, commentary, notes and maps, is now complete. It is a beautiful example of printing and binding—up to the standard of the Oxford University Press. The Hebrew type is large and beautiful and the translation will be a help to many students. The extensive additional notes are quite conservative in outlook, though taking account of modern Biblical criticism. In the present volume there are notes on the Shema, on reward and punishment in Judaism, on Jewish education, on monarchy and freedom in Israel, on marriage, divorce and the position of women in Judaism, on the hallowing of history, on the antiquity and Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy (where H. M. Wiener is quoted as an authority), and on the authorship of the second part of Isaiah (where Wiener is again cited).

F. C. G.

Mishnah and Tosefta Shabbat. By Boaz Cohen. New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1935, pp. ix + 160. \$2.50.

Dr Cohen has begun presenting the results of his research in the early history of the Mishnah and Tosefta. The present volume contains an analysis of the tractate Sabbath in these two forms. His conclusions, as based upon a detailed comparative study and as set forth in this volume are that:

"The Tosefta is a compilation gathered from various sources of different dates, but did not exist in collected form before taken in hand by the Bet Rabbi. Its purpose was to be a companion volume to the Mishnah constructed according to the same plan and composed to some extent from the same materials. The numerous discrepancies in sequence between the Mishnah and Tosefta that obtrude themselves upon the reader's notice are due to the differences in origin of the materials of the two parallel compendia. The Tosefta, being one of the disciplines of study, was perhaps known to the Babylonian and Palestinian Amoraim, but they were not thoroughly conversant with it, hence we find questions in the Talmud unanswered, although the Tosefta actually contains explicit information apropos those inquiries. The Tosefta was compiled in Palestine, as the greater number of passages agreeing with the baraitot in the Yerushalmi indicate, but changes and insertions were made in Babylonia" (p. viii).

Since the Mishnah and Tosefta were developing somewhat simultaneously with the Christian oral tradition and earliest writings, later gathered together into the New Testament, it is only natural that parallels and analogies should exist between the two literatures. Dr Cohen's work, therefore, is especially welcome to the New Testament student interested in Form Criticism.

F. C. G.

The Text of Acts in MS 146 of the University of Michigan. By Henry A. Sanders and Johanna Ogden. Reprint from the Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 1937, No. 1, pp. 1-97 (American Philosophical Society, 104 S. 5th St. Philadelphia).

This is "a manuscript of 210 leaves made up of various parts. Seventy-eight leaves contain a text and commentary of Acts, written in the twelfth century. The text is in a narrow column in the middle of each page, while the commentary fills a like column on each side. The commentary contains much from Bede and Rhabanus Maurus. There are also interlinear glosses of a different character mixed with the text. In text this manuscript has 1384 variants from the Wordsworth and White Vulgate text." It is likely that the majority of the agreements with the Sixtine and Clementine additions come from an old Latin text antedating the Vulgate. 191 of its variants are supported by the Western text. The authors suggest that the manuscript is derived from an Irish Old Latin base.

F. C. G.

We Would Know Jesus. By John A. Scott. Abingdon Press, 1936, pp. 176. \$1.50.

'Four Lectures Given on the John C. Shaffer Foundation at Northwestern University for Promotion of the Appreciation of the Life, Character, Teach-

ings, and Influence of Jesus,' by John C. Shaffer Professor of Greek, Northwestern University.

The first lecture is a survey of the non-canonical sources—Josephus, Tacitus, Suetonius, Pliny the Younger, Lucian of Syria, Aristides of Athens, Macrobius, and the Apocryphal Gospels. The latter of the 'Christ' passages in Josephus (Ant. xx, 9, 1) is regarded as genuine beyond doubt, the former (Ant. xviii, 3.3), substantially so. Ch. ii deals with the 'Preservation of the Gospels.' The priority of Mark is recognized, its composition being supervised by Peter or at least based on his reminiscences. Matthew used Mark as a framework, the additional matter being supplied from the recollection of the author, who is none other than the 'modest taxgatherer.' Luke also used Mark, though there is more than one written source embedded in his gospel, and something of a Proto-Luke theory is advocated. There is no reason to doubt the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel. *Formgeschichte* is not mentioned. There is evidently a typographical error of some sort on p. 51, line 16 from top, though the 'true text' is difficult to reconstruct. Ch. iii, entitled 'Luke the Greek Physician,' is highly imaginative, though it is only fair to add that this is admitted at the outset. For example, Paul's acquaintanceship with Luke began when the former, discouraged over the quarrels of the Jewish with the Gentile element in the Church, entered Luke's office in Antioch one day seeking medical advice. The final chapter, 'Socrates and Jesus,' gives a brief account of the life, teaching and death of the Greek sage, and then proceeds to compare and contrast this with the life and teaching of Christ. This, in the reviewer's opinion, is the most valuable chapter in the book.

One hates to criticize adversely a book written with such reverence for, and appreciation of, the central issues of our Faith, yet it must be admitted that critically the work is hopelessly conservative and out-of-date. How anyone who owes 'much to the writings of Canon B. H. Streeter' can in a work of this sort convey the impression of never having heard of the document 'Q' is beyond the present writer's comprehension. On the other hand, what the author has to say on the subject of the text of the New Testament is based on much more recent authorities, and we are of course at one with him in holding 'that not a single doctrine of the Church, not a hope or a belief of Christianity rests solely upon a doubted or disputed text' (p. 91).

F. C. L.

Das Markus-Evangelium. Edited by Erich Klostermann. 3d ed. Tübingen; Mohr, 1936, pp. iv + 175. M. 7.35.

The new edition of Klostermann's St Mark in the *Handbuch zum Neuen Testament*, edited by Hans Lietzmann, is approximately the same size as the second edition, published ten years ago. Account has been taken of most of the recent work upon Mark, but only very briefly and then at the cost of deleting an equivalent amount of the contents of edition two. Lexical questions are not considered—the student being referred to Bauer. Little reference is made to the textual variants—the student is referred to the new edition of Nestle and to Huck-Lietzmann's *Synopse*. Questions of a controversial nature, especially those dealing with conjectural criticism, are scarcely more than men-

tioned, nor is any attention paid to Torrey's hypothesis of Aramaic Gospels. In brief, what the commentary undertakes to do is to place the student en rapport the generally accepted modern exegesis of the Second Gospel and refer him to sources and discussions where subjects may be pursued at greater length. It is an ideal book for beginners in the study of the Gospels. F. C. G.

The Present Task in New Testament Studies. By C. H. Dodd. Cambridge University Press (New York: Macmillan), 1936, pp. 41. 75 cents.

Professor Dodd's inaugural lecture as Norris-Hulse Professor of Divinity at Cambridge delivered June 2, 1936 is a brief but fascinating survey of current New Testament studies. As successor to the late F. C. Burkitt he pays a brief tribute to his predecessor and then proceeds to outline the various fields of New Testament study: text, introduction, exegesis, language, and interpretation. What he says of the interpretation of the New Testament as a whole is extremely well put. He deals favorably with Form Criticism, and suggests that "the interpretation of the Fourth Gospel requires some new approach not hitherto undertaken." The "setting in life" of that Gospel once it is discovered will surely light up a whole phase of development in early Christianity that has hitherto been obscured or to some extent misconceived. Almost the last words in the lecture are these: "The ideal interpreter would be one who has entered into that strange first-century world, has felt its whole strangeness, has sojourned in it until he has lived himself into it, thinking and feeling as one of those to whom the Gospel first came; and who will then return into our world, and give to the truth he has discerned a body out of the stuff of our own thought" (p. 40f). F. C. G.

Einleitung in das Neue Testament. By Paul Feine. 8th edition, completely rewritten by Johannes Behm. Leipzig: Quelle and Meyer, 1936, xii + 326. M. 7.80.

This is a complete revision of the late Paul Feine's excellent little *Introduction to the New Testament*. It is brief and compact enough for the student to carry in his pocket, but it contains an immense amount of information. The bibliographies are good and up to date and include foreign works as well as German. The problems dealt with in New Testament research are fairly stated and opposing points of view are clearly outlined. The author's own conservative solution of many of them is not stated prejudicially but as a conclusion following the balanced expression of opposites.

The general theory of the evolution of the Gospels is that of the late Professor Feine, viz. a Synoptic 'source' underlay all three Gospels though it was more adequately expressed in Mark than in Matthew or Luke, but it was not the same thing as Mark. It makes one think of Spitta's theory and its long life in modern criticism, evident from Rudolf Otto's latest book where he takes it over *in toto*.

The author holds with his predecessor that the Fourth Gospel is somehow the work of John the Apostle (not the *only* John in Asia Minor) and that one of his disciples completed the work after John's death.

Brief as it is, one of the best things in the book is the chapter on New Testament text. This has been more completely rewritten, especially the section dealing with contemporary research. It is recognized that the 'Western' text cannot be dealt with in the short and simple manner of Westcott-Hort, but that each reading must be examined by itself. The 'Western' type of text is not uniform but is the result of a long course of development.

Useful as Feine's book was in its time, in its new form it promises to be even more useful—not only to German students but to teachers and students of New Testament the world over.

F. C. G.

Recent Discoveries of Biblical Papyri. By H. I. Bell. Oxford University Press, 1937, pp. 30. 75 cents.

Another inaugural lecture, delivered before the University of Oxford November 18, by the newly appointed Hon. University Reader in Papyrology. The lecture gives a useful survey of recent discoveries, the Beatty Papyrus and the publications of Gospel Fragments by the University of Manchester and the British Museum. It will surprise some readers to learn that we now have New Testament manuscripts dating from the 2nd century. There is great hope that we may be able to enlarge this number and thus get back fairly close to the autographs. It is interesting that some of these new fragments agree with the Alexandrian Manuscript, with Theta and the Washington Codex, as against B (the Vaticanus).

F. C. G.

Studies in the Life of Jesus. By Irwin Ross Beiler. Nashville: Cokesbury Press, 1936, pp. 319. \$2.50.

A text book for use in college classes and for the general reader. It is good evidence that the 'Liberal Jesus' is still alive: he has not been swept from the world by Schweitzer's Messianic theory—even though the 'Messianic secret' is recognized as a real feature in the Gospels. Jesus was "rejected because he was not a 'nationalist' Messiah, later executed because it was feared he was," and he stands as the champion of the masses, a "poor man's Messiah"—"born in a borrowed home, making his 'royal' entry on a borrowed ass, and finally laid away in a borrowed tomb" (p. 234). There is a brief chapter (ch. xxii) 'Did Jesus Observe His Own Teaching?' in which his cleansing of the Temple is interpreted from the wholly modern point of view of an attack upon profiteers. "The priests were fleecing the poor in order to enrich themselves, and such evils always aroused Jesus' anger" (p. 239). This is a commonplace of modern interpretation; but it is time we looked into the question whether or not the priests were really profiteers. What is the evidence—from contemporary sources—and, moreover, what evidence is there that Jesus *viewed* them as profiteers?

F. C. G.

Supplement to Peake's Commentary. Ed. by A. J. Grieve. T. C. and E. C. Jack, 1936, pp. 38. 2 s.

Peake's *Commentary* was first published in 1919. During the interval there has been considerable progress in many fields of Old and New Testament re-

search. The present supplement brings the volume up to date and corrects the presentation of material in the summary articles of the Commentary. It is one of the best surveys of current Biblical research that we have seen—and who would not pay two shillings to be brought up to date in this pleasant and authoritative fashion?

F. C. G.

Church History

Der Ursprung des Mönchtums. By Karl Heussi. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1936, pp. xii + 308. M. 8.60.

By its historians, monasticism has been traced to very diverse origins, some internal, some external to Christianity. From this one might reasonably infer that it has *several* roots. Upon this complexity of origin Heussi strongly insists, even while showing that in the last analysis monasticism is the logical development, under the changed conditions of the fourth century and a progressively secularized Church, of the asceticism which had existed within Christianity from the first. Came a time when this ascetic ideal could be preserved only by *anachoresis*; then, since the hermit life fails to satisfy certain social imperatives, the cenobitic type of monasticism appeared by natural evolution as more normal and efficient.

If the primary motivation is religious and intra-Christian, the secondary influence of economic motive and of non-Christian religious patterns is not to be ignored. It is Heussi's merit that he refuses all too-simple solutions of the problem under discussion.

Approximately half of the volume is devoted to a description of the life of the Egyptian anchorites as disclosed in the *Apophthegmata Patrum*. The work ought to be known to all who are interested in the history or the psychology of the monastic movement.

N.

Comenius in England. By Robert Fitzgibbon Young. Oxford University Press, 1932, pp. 99. Plates.

As an educational reformer, John Amos Comenius, Bishop of the *Unitas Fratrum*, directed his energies toward two points of improvement: the popularization of knowledge in attractive forms, and the increase of knowledge by international coöperation of scholars in scientific research. Resenting the dead-weight of Aristotelian tradition which still hung heavy over the educational system, he insisted that learning should be based upon fact-finding. Here, of course, the Bohemian is echoing the challenge issued by Francis Bacon. Comenius' "pansophic" proposals attracted the attention of forward-looking Englishmen—Selden, Pym, Abp Ussher; and Laud's rival, Bp Williams of Lincoln, a notable patron of progressive education, as Laud was of the traditional type. Comenius was invited to England to advise Parliament in the matter of educational reform. His sojourn, 1641-42, might have been more immediately a stimulus to learning and research had not the outbreak of the Civil Wars turned men's attention in another direction.

In this fascinating book Mr Young has translated, with introduction and elaborate documentation, a number of accounts of Comenius' English visit. These are selected to show the nature of Comenius' educational ideas and the projects through which he hoped for their realization. The Moravian's influence on the formation of the Royal Society, immediately after the Restoration, seems to be demonstrated beyond reasonable doubt. N.

Questions d'Histoire du Droit Canonique. By E. Fournier. Paris: Libraire du Recueil Sirey, 1936, pp. 46.

Two learned technical lectures by the Professor of History of Canon Law at the Catholic Institute of Paris. The first deals with glosses and commentaries on the Constitutions promulgated by Gregory X at the close of the Second Council of Lyons, in 1274; the second is a study of the decretals "*extravagantes*" issued by several popes subsequent to the Five Books of Gregory IX, to which Boniface VIII gave formal approval and incorporation in the 'common law' of the Church, in the *Sext* of 1298. N.

Johannis Calvini, Opera Selecta. Vol. V. *Institutio Christianae Religionis, Lib. IV.* Ed. P. Barth and G. Niesel. Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1936, pp. xi + 507. RM. 16.20.

The text of the final, 1559, edition of the *Institutio*, with a full apparatus indicating its several elaborations since the first edition of 1536, and another exhibiting Calvin's references to Scripture, patristic and other literature. This new text is a worthy commemoration of the fourth centenary of the great Reformer's coming to Geneva. To historians the Fourth Book is of particular importance, since it contains Calvin's doctrine of the Church, Sacraments, ministry and discipline, together with his most trenchant criticisms of the Roman Church. N.

The Text of the Major Festivals of the Menologion in the Greek Gospel Lectionary. By Morgan Ward Redus. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936, pp. 34. \$0.25.

This is Vol. II, No. 2 of the University of Chicago "Studies in the Lectionary Text of the Greek New Testament." Dr Redus collated sections of eleven lectionary MSS of the ninth to the fourteenth centuries, giving lections for the major festivals of the menologion, i.e. the immovable feasts. He also made use of published collations. Within any given lection the MSS exhibit a homogeneous text, so that it is possible to speak of a "lectionary text." But as between the various festivals there are great differences. In two cases the text is straight Stephanus, Von Soden's Kappa-X is found five times, while three times the relationship is closest with the Caesarean text. The liturgical gospel for September 14 is related to Von Soden's Iota-Phi, and closely to 700 1689 983. But the three pericopes are not standard Caesarean; rather, Dr Redus concludes, they belong to the "poor relations" of the family. S. E. J.

Clemens Alexandrinus. *Register* (Vol. IV. ii, 2). Ed. by Otto Stählin. *Index of Words and Subjects*. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1936, pp. lxxx + 533-828. M. 30.

At last the German Academy edition of the works of Clement of Alexandria is complete, down to the last word of the index. The edition began in 1905, and has had the advantage of constant use and repeated correction during these thirty-one years. (The index, the editor says, was partly completed in 1907!) Among the other advantages of the delay is the long list of addenda et corrigenda (68 pages) to vols. i-iii.

The second part of the subject index, which is contained in this volume, is almost a concordance to Clement (printed in a perfectly beautiful Greek type). Not only are words often defined, but the references are classified in accordance with various meanings or idiomatic usages.

Dr Stählin's edition of Clement is by all odds the finest that has ever appeared. It deserves a place in every theological library which makes any pretence of containing works of early Christian authors. F. C. G.

Pastoral Theology, Homiletics

The Living Bible. By William Clayton Bower. Harper, 1936, pp. ix + 229. \$2.00.

The purpose of this book is to set forth principles by the adoption of which the Bible can be restored to its rightful place of religious and moral influence in the life of today. The opening chapters give an account of how the Bible came into existence. This is just the re-telling of an old story, but it is well done.

The rest of the book is devoted to the setting forth of the aforementioned principles. Briefly summarized they come to this: that we must abstract from the original historical setting the moral and spiritual values of the Bible and apply them to the situation today to which they are relevant. There is nothing particularly new in this, and the book would have been more valuable to the average reader if the style had been less cumbersome and the vocabulary less technical. F. A. M.

Concerning the Ministry. By John Oman. Harper, 1937, pp. viii + 180. \$2.25.

This is in reality a book of delightful reminiscences recalled for the benefit of the author's students and put into such form as to be available to guide them in similar circumstances.

Nothing is more valuable than this sort of instruction, and while the major topic is preaching, Dr Oman has drawn upon his pastoral experience as well with good benefit to his readers. F. A. M.

Basic Principles of Speech. By Lew Sarett and William T. Foster. Houghton Mifflin, 1936, pp. vii + 577.

A college text book in Speech which ought to be read by every public speaker, it is so modern and up-to-date! The photographs alone will interest any reader

who takes his business of public speaking with the seriousness it deserves. If the clergy are to take preaching seriously there are many things in this book that they might study with care.

F. C. G.

The Redeemer. Ed. by James De Wolf Perry. Harper, 1937, pp. 170. \$1.00.

This is the Presiding Bishop's book for Lenten reading. As hitherto, a number of clergy have collaborated evidently with the intention of producing a unified series built around a common topic. The work is very well done, and while, doubtless, there will be those who will criticize it as too mechanical, the average lay person likes to have his reading arranged in this fashion.

F. A. M.

The Way of Life. By Leon C. and Lala C. Palmer. Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1936, pp. 120. Manual, 75 cents; Quarterly leaflets, 25 cents.

This is a continuation of that excellent system entitled *Christian Living Series* and is planned for the first year of Junior High. As in the other courses the authors show intelligence in the plan and in the adaptation of the material to the particular grade whose religious needs they seek to meet.

F. A. M.

Junior Boys Write their Life of Christ. By William Grime. Boston: Manthorne and Bureck, 1936, pp. xviii + 87. \$1.00.

This little book describes very carefully the way in which a project was carried out by a Church School class of eleven-year-old boys. It contains the Gospel stories as re-written by the class, together with an account of how the work progressed from week to week and of some of the special discussions held. The book should prove to be very helpful to Church School teachers who are working with boys and girls of this age.

F. A. M.

The Old Gospel for New Times. Vol. I. By Dallas C. Baer. Burlington, Iowa: Lutheran Literary Board, 1936, pp. 245. \$2.25.

These are expository sermons based on the Gospel Lessons for the first half of the Christian year. Quite evidently these sermons are intended to be a source book for other preachers, for the writer has paid little attention to literary quality and in each instance has given an almost complete exposition of the passage which is the basis of the sermon. As such source book it will be helpful to those who like to have this part of their work done for them.

F. A. M.

The Ifs and Oughts of Ethics. By Cecil de Boer. Grand Rapids: William B. Erdmann Pub. Co., 1936, pp. xv + 379. \$2.50.

The author calls his book "A Preface to Moral Philosophy." As such it deals with certain fundamental ethical questions in outline. Each one of these problems is stated and analyzed with great logical clearness, and the way to a possible solution is pointed out. The atmosphere of the book is fresh, and

even when it deals with age-old questions, it does not give the impression of threshing old straw. The chapters on Freedom, Economic Justice, and Sex Morality will be like a dash of cold water to some of the muddled thinking of the day. Without attempting to give a final answer to every moral question that is being raised, the author by his sanity of outlook, his clear-headed presentation of facts, will help his readers and students to work out answers for themselves. Each chapter has a helpful list of references for outside reading.

F. A. M.

Das Alte Testament und die Predigt des Evangeliums. By Emanuel Hirsch. Tübingen: Mohr, 1936, pp. vii + 87. RM. 2.60.

Rather than a presentation of new materials or a suggestion as to the practical use of them, this is a revelation to Americans of the difficulties which beset certain Germans, schooled through the critical approach to recognize the Old Testament "als Dokument einer Volks- und Religionsgeschichte"; aware of the problems implicit in Barthianism; attached to the familiar Lutheran liturgy and *Gesangbuch*; and either devoted to or careful not to offend against current German Volkism. While such a book as this may make little contribution to Old Testament scholarship, it does give insight into the perplexing German scene. It includes, by way of introduction, an autobiographical sketch of Professor Hirsch as a student of the Old Testament, and describes the development of his viewpoint from his grammar school days when, as a result of his own reading, he saw the mythological character of certain stories in Genesis. "Es war ein kleiner Erdrutsch," he admits. Through this personal account the author hopes to prepare the reader for the consideration of the composite character of Old Testament narrative as illustrated in the Sacrifice of Isaac, David and Goliath, and Jonah. In the "appendix to his conclusion," the author answers the question as to whether the church has any place for the Old Testament by stating his belief that the preacher must have such thorough training in the proper significance of Old Testament materials as to prevent "proof-texting" and must add to this scholarly approach a strict rule of meditation which will enable him to obtain religious values for the present day.

J. H. J.

The Eight Points of the Oxford Group. An Exposition for Christian and Pagan. By C. Irving Benson. Oxford Univ. Press, 1936, pp. xviii + 163. \$1.75.

This is a typical Oxford Group book, written plainly and with evident sincerity upon Surrender, Confession (sharing), Restitution, The Four Absolutes (perfect love, purity, honesty and unselfishness), The Quiet Time, Guidance, Witness, Fellowship.

There are four appendices: The Secret of Victorious Utility, My Witness (very personal), My Text ('If a man will do His will, he shall know'), and Questions and Answers (a catechism of the Movement).

Like most of these Oxford Group books, this little volume glows with fervor, sparkles with vivid colloquialisms, moves along with a certain boyish

bounce and bright self-assurance, and conveys an impression of joyous re-discovery of Christianity.

The appendix on Questions and Answers is altogether delightful, revealing a shrewd dialectical gift and a clever (at times evasive) use of humor. For example:

- Q. "Do people who are changed by the Group stand?"
 A. "No, they keep moving!"
 Q. "Must we confess all our faults to somebody?"
 A. "Dr. Buchman replied 'Not necessarily.'"
 Q. "Are the groups critical of the Church?"
 A. "Our business is not to criticize but to appreciate."
 Q. "Don't you think it rather rude of a group to ask a clergyman if he has absolutely surrendered?"
 A. "Not at all, so long as it is done with courtesy. Take no one for granted, whether bishop or infidel."
 Q. "Is not sharing liable to be a form of exhibitionism?"
 A. "Yes, if it is not checked, but read I Thess. 2."
 Q. "What would you say to those who regard those in the groups as cranks?"
 A. "Cranks are little things that make revolutions."

Our main criticism of this book and of similar publications by the Group is that the Movement bears all the marks of juvenility. There is great charm in childhood and except we become as little children we cannot enter the Kingdom; but after all Christianity in the twentieth century is no longer in knee-breeches: it has a long Spirit-guided history and cannot be adequately interpreted by these bright school-boy essays.

As for the eight points, I personally prefer the Beatitudes, or even the Seven Points of Discipleship in our own Forward Movement Manual, 'Day-by-Day.'

G. C. S.

National Awakening. By Samuel Shoemaker. Harper, 1936, pp. 108. \$1.00.

These quiet, forceful, earnest sermons—far removed from the breezy *For Sinners Only* and the snobbish emphasis on the novelty of meeting others on an equal social footing which characterizes *What is the Oxford Group*—suggest that the real depths of the movement will be plumbed, not by itinerants, but by men engaged in such a definite, local task as that of the rector of Calvary Church, New York.

H. H. G.

Everyman's Problems and Difficulties. By A. F. Winnington-Ingram. Int. by the Abp of Canterbury. Longmans, Green, 1937, pp. xv+105. \$1.00.

This is the thirtieth of the Bishop of London's Lenten books, and deals with the simple elemental questions confronting 'Everyman,' not only in this generation but—some of them—in all generations: Is there a God? Is there life after death? Are Creeds any good? Is the Incarnation too good to be true? Does the Church contradict the Bible? Can the earth have created itself? Why do we suffer? What is sin? There are thirteen of these questions and it goes almost without saying that the answers to them are likewise in the language of 'Everyman.'

F. C. G.

Miscellaneous

The Lord's Prayer: A Book for Lent. By James Thayer Addison. Morehouse, 1937, pp. 75. \$50.

Admirably brief—a page a day.

The Sacrament of Absolution. By C. J. S. Stuart. London: The Faith Press (Milwaukee: Morehouse), 1936, pp. xii + 98. \$1.00.

Retreat addresses by the rector of St Thomas', Toronto.

Adoration. By Alick Bouquet. London: The Faith Press (Milwaukee: Morehouse), 1936, pp. viii + 128. \$1.00.

Adoration in general, adoration of Christ in the Sacrament, and its ceremonial expression.

The Way of The Gospels. By H. E. Sheen. London: The Faith Press (Milwaukee: Morehouse), 1936, pp. vi + 217. \$1.40.

A course of lessons for a year, for the middle school, based on the Sunday Gospels.

The Eastern Churches Quarterly, Vol. 1, No. 3 Ed. by Dom Bede Winslow. Catholic Records Press, Exeter, England, 1936, pp. 120. Yearly subscriptions 2s. 6d. Single copies 6s. U. S. and Canada, \$1.00.

A journal designed to carry into effect the Pope's wish that Catholics in the west should understand the Christian tradition of the East.

A Flower for Sign. By Louis Stancourt. Macmillan, 1937, pp. 303. \$2.50.

Novellistic autobiography of a Brooklyn convert to the (Roman) Catholic Church.

Die Eschatologie der Evangelien. By Werner Georg Kümmel. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1936, pp. 32. M. 1.80.

Reprinted (like the following) from *Theologische Blätter*, 1936. Deals with the problem of the *present* kingdom in our Lord's teaching.

Johanneisches Denken. By Walther von Loewenich. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1936, pp. 32. M. 1.80.

Discussion of John's mystical, meditative type of thought, his view of history, and his gnostic tendencies. The author recommends a deeper study of the Fourth Gospel.

Lutherisches Pfarramt. By Martin Doerne. Leipzig: Deichert, 1937, pp. 44. M. .90.

'Theologia Militans,' No. 10. Discusses the Lutheran conception of the pastoral office in light of the N. T.

Kampfende Theologie. By Otto Henning Nebe. Leipzig: Deichert, 1937, pp. 23. M. .49.

Ibid., No. 11. The place of theology in a world opposed—or uninterested.

The Royal Table. By Jacob Cohn. New York: Bloch, 1936, pp. 142. \$1.25.

Exposition and rationale of the orthodox Jewish dietary rules.

The Complete Works of Shakespeare. Ed. by George Lyman Kittredge. New York: Ginn, 1936, pp. 4 + 1561. \$6.00.

In spite of the financial depression, in spite of all that is said—and somewhat truly—of the decline of taste in this 'jazz age,' in spite of the increasing interest of students, and of teachers and of universities, in 'practical' subjects, it is certainly not without significance that three new editions of Shakespeare have appeared within a year. The latest, the present one by Professor Kittredge of Harvard, is, in our estimation, the best of the three.

To begin with, Professor Kittredge has taken a more independent attitude on questions relating to the text. His Preface, brief as it is (two pages) ought to be read by every student of Old or New Testament. For what he says about some of the problems of the text and some of the illustrations which he uses apply *mutatis mutandis* to the textual tradition of the Bible. For example, the First Folio edition deserves the respect which attaches to a form sponsored by Shakespeare's literary executors; even so, the so-called 'bad Quartos' often preserved some better readings; while the later Folios, especially the Second Folio, 'though they have no claim to be authoritative, serve at least to correct a considerable number of the old misprints'—how like the similar phenomena of the New Testament manuscripts and editions!

Moreover, Professor Kittredge does not scorn conjectural emendations, and justifies himself by a quotation from Bacon: "A froward retention of custom is as turbulent a thing as an innovation." Some of these conjectures are self-authenticating—as also in the New Testament, and likewise in the Old.

The editor has also a fine ear for rhythm and does not make Shakespeare wrest his metre to fit the Procrustean bed of the conventions observed by 17th and 18th century printers. The stage directions are left standing as they appear in the earliest editions. Supplementary stage directions, many of them indispensable for an understanding of the text, and many of them likewise the result of centuries of dramatic tradition in the performance of Shakespeare, are enclosed within square brackets. On the other hand the author adopts modern spelling and modern punctuation. Many a passage might be cited to show the improvement that takes place when intelligent punctuation is adopted. (The New Testament student will understand this at once!) An unusually full glossary is given: rare words have references added; and the introductions to the separate plays are just long enough to give the historical and literary setting. For example, the historical background of 'The Tempest' is no doubt the shipwreck of Sir Thomas Gates on Bermuda—rather than Ayer's German play based upon the folk theme, 'The Forgotten Bride.' Just enough of this

information is given to enable the reader to feel the spirit of the time when the play was first produced.

If the old-fashioned advice to preachers still holds, 'Take the Bible in your right hand and Shakespeare in your left,' we would suggest taking Kittredge's edition.

F. C. G.

From Theatre to Convent: Memories of Mother Isabel Mary, C.S.M.V.
London: S. P. C. K. (New York: Macmillan), 1936, pp. xii + 137.

It is interesting to learn from this little biography that Mother Isabel Mary (Emilie Isabel Bateman) was an Episcopalian, born in Cincinnati. She became one of the most capable, energetic and beloved leaders of the Community of Saint Mary the Virgin, Wantage, Berkshire, England. Excerpts from her correspondence give us glimpses of the work being done by this Anglican Sisterhood in India and South Africa also.

C. E. H. F.

Basic Convictions. By William Temple. Harper, 1936, pp. viii + 81. 75 cents.

Four lectures given at the Convention of the Student Volunteer Movement at Indianapolis in 1935. The titles are 'The Reality of God and the Obligation of Worship,' 'The Revelation of God in Jesus Christ,' 'The Cross of Christ and the Need of the World,' 'The Divine Constraint of Christian Missions.' The Archbishop did not sufficiently realize that the theological and Biblical background of American students is often a vacant lot.

A. H. F.

On Being Human. By Paul Elmer Moore. Princeton University Press, 1936, pp. 202. \$2.00.

This is Vol. iii of the New Shelburne Essays. The first two volumes have been *The Demon of the Absolute* and *The Sceptical Approach to Religion*. The volume contains nine essays, most of them reprinted from journals, two addresses, one delivered at Lake Forest College and one at the General Theological Seminary, New York. The next to last is an article on von Hügel, while the last is a charming essay 'How to Read Lycidas.'

F. C. G.

The Fifth Gospel. By Harold Metcalf. Muscatine, Iowa. The Prairie Press, 1936, pp. 7 + 80.

This little book may be of suggestive value to those who are theosophically inclined. It is the contention of the author that a Fifth Gospel "must be written" with the outline of "the eschatological conviction of Jesus and Paul" (p. 8). It should be something of a combination of Mary Baker Eddy, Karl Barth, and Albert Schweitzer. The present book represents such an attempt. It deals more particularly with some of the "invisible things of the Kingdom of God," such as "the more abundant life, freedom from disease, indefinite prolongation of this earthly existence, the hope of personal and social redemption, the abolition of carnal death, and Eternal Life" (p. 11).

P. S. K.

Dictionnaire de Spiritualité Ascétique et Mystique: Doctrine et Histoire. By Marcel Viller. Fasc. vi. Bibliothèques—Byzance. Paris: Gabriel Beauchesne et ses Fils, 1937, coll. 1601-2005. Fr. 25.

This is the completion of Vol. I of the new Dictionary of Spirituality. It runs 80 columns beyond what was planned. In consequence the following volume will be that much shorter.

The articles cover a wide range of subjects relating to mysticism and asceticism throughout the history of the Catholic Church. The longer articles are really monographs, e.g. the one on St Bonaventura in the present installment. The bibliographies seem to be good and there is even a list of articles at the end of the volume for the guidance of the inquiring reader. The long article on Spiritual Biographies is one of the most extensive in the volume, covering the whole range of literary history from the apostolic age down to the present. The article is largely factual; it does not deal much with contents of the lives: it is, in brief, a magnificent bibliography of hagiography. F. C. G.

Race Mixture Among the Greeks Before Alexander. By Aubrey Diller. (Illinois Studies in Language and Literature. Vol. XX, Nos. 1-2.) University of Illinois, 1937, pp. 187. \$2.50.

A survey of the literary evidence concluding that "for the historical period before Alexander . . . we must conclude that there was not much race mixture in Greece." The appendix contains a survey of the archaeological evidence for the Metics and a good bibliography. F. C. G.

The Living Church Annual. The Year Book of the Episcopal Church, 1937. Milwaukee: Morehouse, pp. xx + 560. \$1.85 (Paper, \$1.50).

The new edition of the *Living Church Annual* is printed with a larger and clearer type, apparently, and is a most attractive volume. Its importance for the clergy is unquestionable, and it would probably be consulted if it were available to the laity in most parishes.